

THE NATIONAL CHURCHES

SCOTLAND

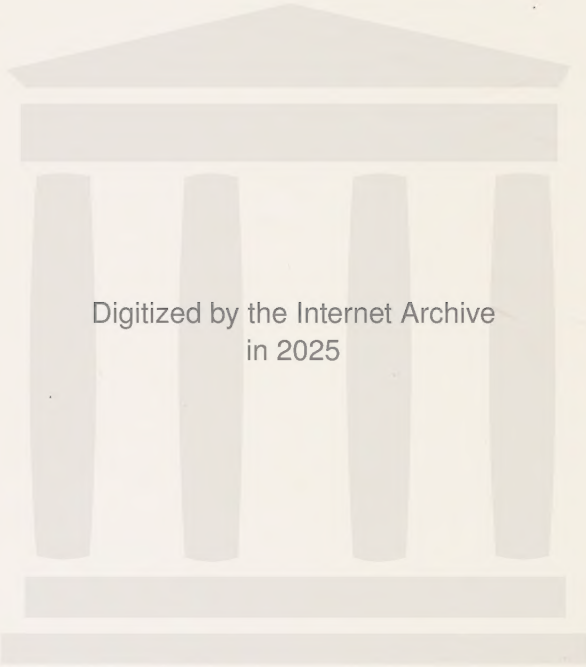
H. M. LUCKOCK.

The National Churches.

EDITED BY

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CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

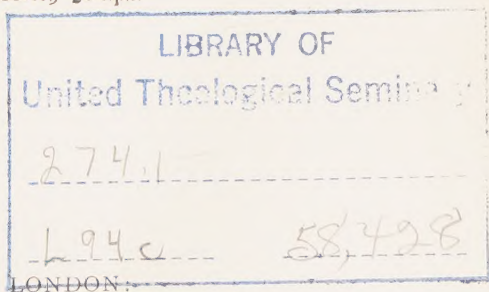


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THE
CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

BY
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With Maps.



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PREFACE.

THE history of the Scottish Church, at least of particular periods, has been often written, and with much detail; it has been more often written indirectly in histories of the nation, for in few countries has the life of the people been so closely interwoven with that of the Church. One fact alone will express the extent of the connection: before the Reformation it was calculated that almost half of the wealth of Scotland was in the hands of ecclesiastics.

As far as we know there are only two popular histories of the Church, embracing the whole length of its existence, in use and favour at the present time: one by an Episcopalian, Professor Grub, in four volumes; the other in two, by a Presbyterian, Dr. John Cunningham.

When asked to write the history in one volume, I came to the conclusion that it would be more useful, as it has certainly been more interesting, to write at greater length upon the most salient points and eventful epochs than to give the bare outlines of a continuous history.

If at times I appear to have written too decidedly upon questions that are open to discussion, I must

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plead in excuse that the exigency of space alone has prevented my stating the grounds upon which conclusions have been based. To mention at haphazard a few subjects that might well have claimed a full exposition of the arguments pro and con, there is the complicity of the martyr Wishart in a conspiracy to murder, the validity of Ordination *per saltum*, the primitive distinction between presbyter and bishop. If on these and other points the language seems unduly dogmatic, it is rather from necessity than by choice.

On one point I avail myself of this Preface, written some months after the history, to make one revision. In the text, in two places, I accepted without dispute the romantic tradition touching the accidental character of Queen Margaret's first visit to Scotland; but circumstances have lately led me to weigh the arguments more carefully, and I am disposed to think that the evidence found in the MS. of Henry of Huntingdon, repeated and expanded in the *Excerpta e scriptis Turgoti*, upon which my statements rested, has been shaken by the researches of Freeman, who concludes that the voyage to Scotland was planned and undertaken of set purpose. Nothing of importance depends upon the conclusion; but accuracy is a primary requisite for writing history, and the recognition of this prompts me to make the correction.

Probably what I have written on the revolutionary character of the so-called Reformation will be the part least acceptable to the Presbyterian body, but the longer I have studied the history of that period, the more unsatisfactory it has seemed. The absolute

incapacity for recognising any the least good in the Roman Catholic religion, which was a most marked feature in John Knox's character, pushed him into extremes that nothing could justify; and the unprincipled conduct of the nobles with whom he allied himself made a real Reformation impossible, and substituted for it a complete Revolution. Knox's disinterestedness, however, when placed in contrast with the rapacity of his lay-colleagues, deserves the highest praise. It is not always realised by Episcopalians that the frightful famine of religious teaching, and the indifference of the people which followed that great upheaval, were only indirectly due to John Knox. He would never have left the nation to spiritual starvation if he could possibly have secured an adequate means for the support of a ministry; he would, at least, have preserved the Christianity of the nation in vigour, though at the sacrifice of its Churchmanship. As it was, for a time at least, both were imperilled.

I can hardly hope to have escaped from all errors in writing the history of so long a period, but I send forth these pages with less diffidence from their having been subjected to the criticism of Dr. Cazenove, Chancellor of S. Mary's Cathedral, whose wide knowledge of all that concerns the political and ecclesiastical history of Scotland is recognised on all hands. I have not quite always felt able to accept his views in their integrity, but my obligation to him is very great. I have to thank Canon Evans, as I have so often done before, for having looked over and corrected the proof-sheets. Lastly, a very full and exhaustive index is

the compilation of my eldest daughter, Mrs. Arbuthnot, who most opportunely relieved me of the task under circumstances when it must otherwise have suffered materially in its completeness.

H. M. L.

LICHFIELD, *December 8, 1892.*

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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.



CHAPTER I.

THE DAWN OF CHRISTIANITY.

The original name of Scotland—The first foreign element in Caledonia—The barbarous character of the inhabitants—Their defeat under Galgacus—Invasion of England and its repulse—The withdrawal of the Romans—Northern and Southern Picts—The first authentic record of Christianity in the country—S. Ninian—His life in Rome—Influenced by S. Jerome—His consecration—His visit to S. Martin at Tours—His return to his native land—The foundation at Whithorn—Magnum Monasterium, the nursery of Monastic Institutions—The death of S. Ninian—His widespread popularity—S. Ailred's biography of him—The miraculous element largely developed—An illustration of the true teaching of legends—Bishop Forbes' testimony to the momentous work of S. Ninian.

At the beginning of the Christian era Scotland was the designation of another country than that which now bears the name. The Scots were the chief inhabitants of Hibernia or Ireland, while the modern Scotland was known as Caledonia or Alban. It was not till the tenth century that the Scotie settlers from Ireland, who had taken possession of the west coast, after subduing or bringing into union with themselves the Picts, the most important of the ancient Caledonian tribes, transferred the title of Scotia to the whole of North Britain.

The first foreign element introduced into Caledonia was Roman. It made itself rapidly felt in the South, but all that part which lay beyond the Friths of Forth and Clyde obstinately resisted the Roman arms, and was designated by the significant epithet of *Barbara*. Its inhabitants dwelt, it was believed, in a vast forest; they were a fierce people, governed by laws that were rude in the extreme; they lived upon what they could take by hunting and fishing; they were physically strong with giant limbs; they painted their bodies blue to intimidate their foes, and they fought in chariots. Such was the common belief when Agricola, in 86 A.D., resolved on the invasion of their country. The barbarians mustered in large force under Galgacus to repel the invader, and a desperate battle was fought at the foot of the Grampian mountain. They were compelled to yield before the superior discipline and weapons of the Empire, but were suffered to draw off unmolested into their inaccessible fastnesses, where they continued to maintain their independence. Indeed, so far from being subjugated, they made themselves such an object of dread that it was found necessary within fifty years to raise a rampart of protection against their incursions. It was thus that the wall of Antonine, stretching from sea to sea, was built and fortified.

In the fourth century some mixed hordes of Picts, Saxons, and Scots, who had come over from Ireland, and others¹ whose origin is unknown, crossed

¹ "Picti Saxonesque et Scoti et Attacetti Britannos œrumnis vexavere continuis," Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvi. 4.

the rampart and penetrated even as far as London. Theodosius was sent by the Emperor to meet them, and after fighting many battles succeeded in driving them back into their northern wilds. He concluded his expedition in 369 A.D. by strengthening the fortifications, and to commemorate his victories he named the province that lay between the walls of Hadrian and Antonine, *Valentia*, after the Emperor Valens. Within a few years, however, the invasions of the Goths and Vandals sweeping down upon the Italian Peninsula, made it necessary to concentrate the imperial forces for the defence of the capital, and all Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain.¹ *Valentia* was at once overrun by the barbarous tribes who took possession of the country and divided themselves into Northern and Southern Picts, with the wall of Antonine as the line of demarcation between them.

It is at this stage of the history of the country that we meet with the first trustworthy information about the introduction of Christianity. It is difficult to suppose that it was unknown in Scotland before, for there was a British Church in existence, and we have no right to conclude that its influence was only felt on the south of the Humber. There were Christians too in the Roman army, and they may have carried the knowledge of Christ into the districts they visited; but the first authentic record of an organised attempt to Christianise the country and teach the faith in its integrity, dates from the last decade of the fourth cen-

¹ The last of the Roman legions were sent home in 410 A.D.

tury, and is associated with the name of S. Ninian.¹ His father lived as a prince or chieftain in affluent circumstances in Valentia, and he could hardly have been a stranger to Christianity, for he took care to have his son baptized, and the boy's earliest years were certainly spent under Christian influences. It was not uncommon in those days for wealthy parents to send their sons to Rome to complete their education. Ninian's innate enthusiasm prompted him to prefer an urgent request that he might enjoy this privilege, and it was readily granted. The youth was cordially welcomed by Pope Damasus, and he set himself without delay to prosecute with vigour the purpose of his visit. It was an eventful epoch in the history of the early Church, and a combination of circumstances contributed to make a deep and lasting impression upon him. The Church in Rome had just gained a complete ascendancy over Paganism and was in the plenitude of undisputed power. The transfer of the seat of the Empire to Constantinople had left the Bishop of Rome without a rival to dispute his government; and the triumphant authority of the Church was not felt in Rome alone. The memorable submission of Theodosius to the humiliating penance imposed by S. Ambrose is an abiding witness to its force and influence. Such an act, if Ninian heard of it, as doubtless he did, must have filled him with awe. His piety again would be fos-

¹ He was also called Ringan, or Ringen. Sources of information respecting his work are Bede's "Eccl. Hist." iii.; "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle"; Ailred's *Vita S. Niniani*.

tered as he wandered through the Catacombs and saw the records of suffering and death endured for the Cross.

Yet, farther, one of the greatest of the Western divines was then teaching theology at Rome, and bending all his energies to the extirpation of the luxury and worldliness which Paganism had bequeathed to the Church. Ninian's biographer tells us that the Pope "handed him over to the teachers of truth to be imbued with the discipline of the faith;" and among those Jerome must have had a place, for Damasus regarded him with the utmost respect and admiration.

It was in the school of this great master that Ninian drew in that spirit of asceticism and implicit confidence in the monastic system which was immediately reproduced on his return home. Its principles were set forth so powerfully by Jerome, that the Roman ladies were carried away by his stern denunciation of wealth and extravagance, and eagerly embraced an ascetic life. Daughters of the very oldest patrician families flocked to his lectures, and their example was followed by those of humbler birth. Men too in large numbers caught the spirit of his teaching, and with all the strength and intensity of the Roman character threw themselves into the monastic system.

After twenty years passed amidst such strong and varied religious influences, Ninian was consecrated to the Episcopate, 394 A.D., and commissioned by Pope Siricius to devote his life to the apostolic work of converting Northern Britain.

Now at this time there was living in Gaul a bishop

his religion was but of an imperfect kind, corrupted by an admixture of pagan superstition, for he set himself at once "to root up what had been implanted, to cut down what had been fruitful, and to lay the foundations of the true faith." He selected for his headquarters a spot on the headland of Galloway, overlooking the Solway, called *Larropphila*, and there he built a church. He had projected massive foundations in view of building a steeple the Roman fashion, and it is generally believed to have been the first stone structure erected in that land. From the wilderness of its material it gained the name of *Candida Casa*, or in Saxon, *Whithorn*, still preserved in the designation of "Whithorn." Before the building was finished the news came that the famous Celtic bishop was dead, and Nectan at once determined to dedicate it to his memory. No shrine in the early history of the Church gained greater celebrity: it became the resort of pilgrims, kings and princes, nobles and ecclesiastics, men and women of every degree and country, who flocked to do homage to his name for many generations. The way had shrouded testimony to the popularity of the saint in the countless churches and religious houses which were dedicated to him in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

Whether it was before or after Nectan's first missionary expedition to the Picts it is not clear, but only round the Church a miniature cathedral framed after the pattern of what he had seen in Gaul. *Magnus*

Monasterium, as it was called, became the indirect means of Christianising the whole of Scotland, for apart from the influence which it exerted in the South in the lifetime of its founder, it was the nursery of many other monasteries in the British Isles, and above all, it gave birth to the Irish monastery from which S. Columba and his apostles went forth, two centuries later, to convert the Northern tribes, and establish Christianity on a permanent basis throughout the length and breadth of the country.

There is no record of S. Ninian's having himself passed beyond the Grampian range. His life was spent for the most part in the neighbourhood of his first settlement, though doubtless, in the exercise of that active labour which he encouraged in his monks, he travelled himself from time to time, as need required, in the Southern region, confirming the churches which he had founded. His habits were marked by great austerity and devotion, and his penance-cave, beneath the cliffs which rise from Glenluce Bay, was long pointed out as an object of interest to pilgrims.

After thirty years of devoted work he died 432 A.D., and was buried before the altar of his own church.¹ The hold that he gained upon the affections of his countrymen may be measured by their desire to perpetuate his memory. In no less than twenty-five counties of Scotland, from Orkney to Dumfries, churches and religious institutions, to the number of seventy or more, bear his name. In those centuries, when pilgrimages were part of the religious life of the people,

¹ Bede's "Eccl. Hist.," iii. 4.

SCOTLAND

Under the Dominion of the Picts.



he was held in such veneration as the pioneer of Christianity in North Britain, that vast concourses flocked year by year to his shrine, and at times prohibitory orders were issued to check the influx.¹

It is unfortunate that so little definite information respecting his life has been preserved by near or contemporary writers. Saving for a few scattered notices and traditions, we are dependent for all we know of him upon a biography that was written eight centuries after his death; and it is impossible not to feel that the life which S. Ailred compiled is of little value as an historic record. It brings to light no authenticated facts, and is taken up almost from the first page to the last with a record of the miracles which he was reported to have worked. In this respect the biographer allowed himself to be carried away by doctrines and beliefs that found ready acceptance in the credulous and unpractical times in which he lived. It was an age when no saint was highly accounted of, unless it could be asserted that supernatural powers waited upon his actions; and the widespread popularity of S. Ninian fostered very largely the inventive genius of his admirers. It ought, however, always to be remembered that these miraculous legends of early and mediæval times not infrequently embody the ruling principles of the saint's character, and these were clothed by an imaginative people, in this respect wholly unlike ourselves, in a supernatural dress to attract attention and heighten the influence they desired to promote.

It is doubtless thus that we ought to read the legend

¹ Chalmers' "Caledonia," iii. 42.

of the rain that is so familiar to the readers of S. Ninian's Life. One day, in company with a fellow-monk, he was reading the Psalms in the open air, when suddenly a shower came on ; but though the rain fell round and about them on all sides, they themselves were wholly untouched by it. At last S. Ninian's eye wandered from the page, and an unholy thought passed through his mind ; at once the preternatural shelter was withdrawn, and they were wet by the rain. The saint's companion, divining the cause, remonstrated with the offender, who banished the *illicita cogitatio* with a blush of penitential shame, and the miraculous interposition was at once renewed.

Allegorically construed, the legend is the vehicle of an important truth ; for " it speaks of that protection which encompasses the just, of the tenure on which it depends, of the negligence by which it may be forfeited, of the need common to the strongest and the weakest to watch and pray lest they enter into temptation."

It is with reluctance that we close the life of one who did so much for his country, and we cannot forbear the fullest sympathy with a most learned Scottish bishop,¹ who drew no little of his inspiration from the first of his order, and bore this noble testimony to the momentous work which S. Ninian was enabled to inaugurate : " No one can stand within the precincts of the ruined priory of Whithorn, or look out to sea from the roofless chapel at the Isle, without emotions which are difficult to describe. He stands on a spot where

¹ Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, who translated Ailred's Life. Cf. "Historians of Scotland," vol. v.

the ancient civilisation of Rome, and the more ancient barbarism of *Mæataë*, alike gave place to the higher training of the Gospel of Christ—where the domination of the earth, transferred to the true faith, but still proceeding from the Eternal City, laid hold upon the strongest of all those Celtic races which constitute the population of Scotland . . . where a Saxon Church, remarkable for the sanctity of its bishops, repaired the breaches caused by conquest and foreign oppression—where amid the ravages of the Norsemen and the feuds of the local princes, a rest was found for the ashes of *S. Cuthbert* . . . where year by year the concourse of devout pilgrims to *S. Ninian's* shrine was so great as to call for royal interference, and in the presence of his sanctity the old feuds of Scots and English were for the time to be forgotten—where the good Queen Margaret, the wife of *James III.*, found food for a piety which has almost entitled her to a place in the Calendar of the Saints—where the gallant and chivalrous *James IV.*, in whom, in spite of the temptations of youth, the devotional element prevailed, drew in that spiritual life, which, expressing itself in deep penitence for his complicity in his father's death, sent him with an iron girdle of penance round his waist to the fatal field of *Flodden*. And all this historic interest centres round one single figure, sketched in faint outline by the Venerable *Bede*, filled in by the graceful hand of the amiable *Ailred*, commemorated in the dedications of many churches through the length and breadth of Scotland—*Ninian*, the apostle of the Britons and of the Southern Picts."

CHAPTER II.

THE CONVERSION OF THE STRATHCLYDE BRITONS BY S. KENTIGERN.

Traditional history of certain saints between S. Ninian and S. Kentigern—Migration of Scotie settlers from Ireland on the west coast—The kingdom of Dalriada—A relapse into Paganism in the South after S. Ninian—The birth of S. Kentigern—His mother's hallucination—The origin of his name Mungo—His settlement at Glasgow—His flight into Wales—His recall from S. Asaph, and return to his old See—His chief characteristics—The memory of his miracles preserved in heraldry—The meeting of S. Columba with S. Kentigern at Mellindonor.

AFTER S. Ninian's death there is almost a blank in the history of the Church for many years. Tradition has ascribed with varying emphasis the continuance of his work to a number of distinguished saints, Palladius, Serf, Ternan, Bridget, and Monenna. The light of later criticism, however, has done much to disperse the common beliefs in connection with them. It leaves them, it is true, as real historic persons, but it has relegated the part they are said to have played in Scotland to the sphere of legend. There is some authentic ground for supposing that a church was founded at Abernethy in the fifth century; but there are serious anachronisms involved in the story that it was part of the territory given in 460 A.D. by Nectan, King of the Picts, to God and S. Bride, who had crossed over from Kildare. It is an illustration

of the uncertainty in which all is wrapt during this period. Of Monenna or the "beloved Edana," it is accounted a trustworthy tradition that her name survives in the capital of Scotland, which is said to have been one of the seven churches that she founded, Dunedene, or in Anglic, Edinburg.

The mists of uncertainty begin to clear away towards the close of the fifth century, and an event of momentous importance is chronicled in the migration of a large Scotie settlement, which crossed over from Ireland under three chieftains, Fergus, Loarn, and Angus, and took possession of the present district of Argyleshire. The sovereignty which they then established in the Western Highlands was destined within a few centuries to absorb into itself the great nation of Picts, and give its name to the whole country, Scotia or Scotland. At first their territory was known as the kingdom of Dalriada. They brought their religion with them; but just as Christianity under their influence began to spread in the West, it seemed almost to die out in the South. Nearly the whole of that region which had been converted by S. Ninian experienced a great relapse from the faith; indeed, the religion of Christ might have suffered a total eclipse but for the timely interposition of one man. The Angles who had occupied the east coast were heathen; they had been invited by the Britons about 440 A.D. to aid them against the Picts, and the pagan superstitions spread rapidly among their allies. In the providence of God a great missionary was sent among them in time to avert a

complete apostasy; it was the famous S. Kentigern.¹ The same difficulty meets us in reviewing his life as we experienced in regard to S. Ninian; truth and fiction, history and legend, are almost inextricably mixed together. His very conception is involved in mystery. His mother, the *Thenog* of Ireland, the S. Enoch of Glasgow, so the story runs, believed that, like the Blessed Virgin, she was predestined to bear a son who should be the saviour of his country. This hallucination made her an easy prey for an unprincipled suitor, and being found with child, she was ordered by her father, in accordance with the custom of his royal house, to be hurled from a precipice. She prayed that she might escape to dedicate the fruit of her womb, like a second Samuel, to the service of God, and her prayer was answered. His biographer describes in vivid colours his strange untended birth on the desolate coast, and the greeting he received from a man of God who found and baptized and brought him up, and how he loved him for the beauty of his character, and called him, instead of his baptismal name, Kentigern, "the chief of lords," Mungo, which means "most dearly beloved."

When Kentigern left his native home at Culross he settled at Glasgow. He was led there, it is said, by the guidance of the oxen who were carrying Fergus to his last resting-place in the cemetery which Ninian had consecrated. He had hardly come to man's estate when he was called by the king and clergy

¹ His Life was written first by Joceline, Bishop of Furness, about 1180 A.D., but there is a fragment written half a century earlier. Both were translated by Forbes in the "Historians of Scotland."

of Cambria with one consent to be their bishop. Like S. Ambrose before him he earnestly pleaded his unworthiness, but his reluctance was eventually overcome, and he entered at once with vigour upon his work. It was soon interrupted by the accession to the throne of a heathen king, who persecuted him bitterly, and took counsel to destroy his life. He was obliged to flee from the country; a series of disasters which befell the people of the land after his departure was attributed to the wrath of God for the heinous crime of expelling their bishop. Earth and sky and sea all combined to punish his persecutors, and Jocelyn, his biographer, says: "The very world itself seemed to fight against them; all the cattle died, the heavens above were as brass, and the earth as iron, devouring the inhabitants thereof, and a consuming famine prevailed over the earth."

He fled to Wales, and then founded the monastery of Llanclwy, afterwards called S. Asaph, in the vale of Clwyd, so called, it is thought, by Kentigern because he found in it some resemblance to the northern vale of Clyde, from which he had been driven. There he remained exercising a deep and abiding influence upon the people till 573 A.D., when he was recalled to his Cambrian see. The great battle of Arddewyd¹ decided the fate of Paganism among the Britons of Strathclyde, and Rhydderch, a Christian king, was put upon the throne. His first thought was to bring back Kentigern to restore the faith of Christ, for though there were among his sub-

¹ *i.e.* Arthuret, on the Esk, near Carlisle.

jects many professing Christians their knowledge had been greatly obscured during the Pagan ascendancy. S. Kentigern's departure from S. Asaph was marked by an outburst of popular lamentation. He first enthroned a monk as his successor, and then, in the presence of an assembled throng, issued forth with some hundred followers from the northern door of his church, which was then closed, and only once a year in all after time was it ever suffered to turn upon its hinges ; to mark, it is said, a double purpose, "first, in deference to the sanctity of him who had then passed through it ; and, secondly, in token of the grief of those who had there bidden him farewell."

He settled first at Hoddam in Dumfriesshire, where he strove to win the people from their half-pagan religion, and vigorously denounced the new worship of Woden, which they had learnt from the Angles who had settled as their neighbours on the East. He then returned to his old See of Glasgow, and devoted himself for the remainder of his days to the complete eradication of the heathen rites and superstitions, and the restoration of the faith. Nothing but success attended his labours till he died in a good old age in 603.¹ He truly deserved the title he has received as one of the apostles of Scotland.

Perhaps the chief characteristic of his life was an almost unexampled spirit of self-denial and austerity, and it is said that he recalled in his apostolic missions the voice and figure of the Baptist, clad in the

¹ He is said to have been 185, but probably the century has been added. The *Annals Cambriæ* place his death in 612 A.D., but the above date is more generally accepted. Skene's "Celt. Scotl.," ii. 197 n.

roughest garb, feeding on the commonest food, and drawing crowds to his feet by the intense fervour of his preaching.

He shared the honour of others of the saints of those early times in being regarded as directly commissioned by God to convince the gainsayer by His imparted power. Many miracles are attributed to him, wrought, moreover, not only in his life, but waiting upon him even in death. His disciples strove with each other to enter the bath in which he had died, and one by one, as they did so, fell asleep in the Lord. But the supernatural wonders ascribed to him by an imaginative age were not in all cases such as a man of God would have wished to work. The miraculous discovery, at his direction, of the ring which a faithless queen had given to her paramour, in order to save her from a rightful punishment, violates every principle of morality; but the legend has been cherished even to these later days, and is still preserved in the heraldic arms of Glasgow, where the salmon and the ring find a conspicuous place.¹

There is yet one event of a most touching kind that deserves to be recorded before we close his history, and it will serve as a transition to the third of the apostolic triad who evangelised Scotland. We can well imagine that S. Kentigern, who had heard so much of S. Columba and his settlement in Dalriada, must have yearned to see him before he laid down his work, and we are told how the spirit of the monk of Iona was stirred as he drew near in his missionary

¹ *Vita S. Kentig.*, xxxvi. ; *Scoli-Monasticon*, 40.

labours to the borders of Strathclyde, where S. Kentigern dwelt, and how when the time came he went forth to meet him with a great company of his followers. It must have been a wonderful sight. In the front of the procession S. Columba placed all his younger monks; in the second the more advanced in years; in the third, with himself, walked "all the aged in length of days, venerable in countenance, gesture, and bearing, yea, even in grey hairs." They met at Mellindonor, on a spot that was hallowed by the blessing of their first great predecessor, the holy Ninian, and after counsel and communion, and the interchange of their pastoral staves, in token of their mutual love in Christ, they took their first and last farewell.¹ And their parting words were words of peace and trust. "The way of the just," said one, "is made straight, and the pathway of the holy is prepared." "The saints," the other replied, "shall go from strength to strength, until with the God of gods every one of them appeareth in Sion."

¹ "Their meeting was typical of the two currents of Christian faith and practice which were running alongside and overflowing the land—namely, the Irish and the Welsh, which were to come in contact again at the great rampart of the Grampian range, and give their character to the Scotie and Pictic Churches."—J. Gammach, in Smith's "Christ. Biogr.," ii. 605.

CHAPTER III.

S. COLUMBA'S SETTLEMENT ON THE WESTERN COAST.

The vast influence of S. Columba's mission—His biographies by Cumme and Adamnan—His royal descent—His early life—His education at Clonard and Moville—His reputation for holiness—Different accounts of what led to his mission to Scotland—His quarrel over a copy of the Psalter—His reputed banishment—His landing on the west coast of Scotland—The foundation of his monastery—The plan of the buildings—His visit to Buede, the King of the Picts—Christian settlements among the Northern Picts—S. Columba's influence in procuring S. Aidan's succession to the kingdom of Dalriada—His mission to the Southern Picts—The saint's farewell to the monastery and his death.

THE second period of Church history in Scotland opens with the mission of S. Columba. It is stamped throughout with the impress of the man, and in such a marked manner that it would not be going too far to say that no one in the early ages of the Church influenced her to anything like the same extent. For nearly two centuries the whole life of the Church centred in his monastic institutions, and these were scattered over the length and breadth of the country.

Posterity has been favoured by the possession of records of Columba's life of almost contemporary date. Two of his successors in office in Iona, Cumme¹ and

¹ S. Cumme, surnamed Abbus the Fair, was seventh abbot. He died 669 A.D., and his Life of S. Columba forms the basis of Adamnan's.

Adamnan, have left us biographies founded for the most part upon personal knowledge. The work of the latter has been aptly described by an eminent critic and scholar as "an inestimable relic of the Irish Church, perhaps with all its defects the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time."¹ Both of them suffered their zeal and enthusiastic devotion to carry them at times into an exaggerated estimate of the acts and virtues of their hero, and to surround him even from his birth with a halo of glory and perfection; but when all necessary deductions have been made, that which remains is more than sufficient to separate him by the strongest line of demarcation, both in character and work, from all his surroundings.

Columba was born under favourable auspices. On both sides he was of royal blood: by his father in a direct line from the kings of Ulster, by his mother, a descendant of the reigning house of Leinster. They lived at Gartan, in the wild district of Donegal, and his birth took place in A.D. 521, at that eventful epoch when Ireland was just becoming the very centre of learning, cultivation, and piety, and was making good her claim to the title, so soon to be given by common acclamation, "the Island of Saints." Those who witnessed his opening life regarded him from the first as a favourite of Heaven, predestined by God for a great and important future. He was baptized by the name of Colum, to which in later times was added

¹ Reeves, "The Life of S. Columba," written by Adamnan, ninth abbot of the monastery, p. xxx.

Cille, Columkill or Colum of the Church. He grew up amidst the admiration of his contemporaries, tall, strong, handsome, of an almost divine expression of countenance, with an enthusiastic temperament and an unbounded faith. From his earliest years he adopted a strict and ascetic course of life, and when he rose to a position of authority always practising what he preached, leading the way himself in every order that he laid upon his followers, and even striving to outdo them in the endurance of hardships. He, if any one, possessed "the gift of ruling others by ruling himself." His youth was spent in the monastic schools of Clonard and Moville, in the counties of Meath and Down, under S. Finnian, and as soon as he reached the proper age he was admitted to holy orders. Such was the reputation he had gained for goodness and purity of motive that it used to be said of him even then, that an angel might be seen always walking by his side. During the next twenty years he continued to labour in Ireland, founding in all about forty monasteries, of which the most important were at Derry and Durrow, or, as it is more familiarly known in the Scottish tongue, Dearnach, "the Field of Oaks."

But God had other work for S. Columba to do, and he became the pioneer of that band of missionary apostles who went forth from Ireland to evangelise so many parts of Europe, more especially Scotland, Germany, and Switzerland. In the year 563 A.D. he passed through a great crisis: it is difficult, however, to determine the exact cause which produced it. It

may have been that, like others before and since, he felt an inward overpowering call to go out from his home and fatherland to carry the glad tidings of salvation to a people lying in darkness. He had an innate love of adventure and a burning zeal, and it must have been quickened by the tidings brought back from the Scots of Dalriada of the barbarous nations of the Northern Picts whom Christianity had never touched. At last the impulse became irresistible, and he resolved on the enterprise. Such, in the opinion of his earliest biographer, was the motive which drew him to Scotland. On the other hand, later records imply that his departure from Ireland was no voluntary act, but forced upon him by a sentence of excommunication and banishment. He had, it is said, quarrelled with his master, S. Finnian, about the possession of a Psalter, and the decision of King Diarmid, to whom the dispute was referred, so dissatisfied S. Columba that by his influence he brought on a battle between the King and his enemies in Connaught.¹ The slaughter was so terrible that the Church of Ireland called for an act of purgation from the guilt of bloodshed. Columba was arraigned before a Synod,² and a decree was passed that he must

¹ The King ordered him to surrender the treasure to its original owner, saying, "To every book belongs its copy, as to every cow its calf." The copy was long treasured by the O'Donnell clan, and carried into battle as a charm and pledge of victory. It is now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Cf. Adamnan's *Life*, Introduction, p. lxxxvii.

² At Teltown, in Meath. The battle was fought at Cul-Dreihmnae, on the border of Ulster and Connaught.

atone for the part that he had taken by winning from Paganism as many souls as had perished in the battle. The immediate penance imposed was that he should be exiled from his country, never again to tread its soil or see its shores. Accepting his sentence, he set sail with twelve companions from the North of Ireland and landed at the Island of Colonsay, in the kingdom of Dalriada, but when he climbed the heights and looked back across the sea, the shores of Erin could still be discerned rising in the distance above the horizon. His conscience drove him to seek another settlement; and he found it in Hy or Iona, with its "white sands and serpentine pebbles"; and there he landed on the eve of Whitsun Day, May 12, 563. The spot is still known as the Coracle Port.¹

Columba's kinsman, Conald, was then ruling over the district and made him a grant of land; he at once betook himself with determination to the establishment of a monastery, which he made the starting-point for all his after-work. The whole plan was drawn by his own hand. It was extremely simple in its structure: by the necessity of circumstances built throughout of wood and earth, but in its arrangements as complete as he could make it. The chapel was the centre of "the college"; there was a refectory of considerable size, a guest-chamber or hospice, there were cells for the monks and an abbot's hut on an elevated spot overlooking the whole, and a burying-place for those who died in the brotherhood. All these were enclosed by a wall of earth and wattles, and

¹ In Gaelic it is Port-a-hurrach—"The Bay of the Wicker Boat."

outside of it was a cluster of buildings for agricultural work ; a byre with its cows, barns and storehouses, and a kiln for storing and drying the grain ; and when all was done he gave it its constitution. This will engage our attention more appropriately at a later stage. We turn now to his missionary work.

When S. Columba had organised the monastery he determined to carry out his dream, and bring the Picts under the yoke of Christ. They were the only tribe which Christianity had never reached. They were ruled over at this time by Brude, the greatest in the line of Pictish kings, who had his royal residence on Loch Ness ; ¹ and thither the Apostle of Scotland bent his steps. It was a perilous journey, for the country was wild and inhospitable, the woods through which he must pass were the haunts of wild beasts, and the people themselves savagely hostile. The story tells how the perils increased as he approached the stronghold ; the gates were closed against him, and threats were made that the intruders should be slain ; but the obstruction was removed by prayer and the sign of the Cross, and the King's uplifted hand fell paralysed at his side, and remained powerless till the message was accepted. It is but the forcible witness of a religious writer to the invincible faith of the messenger, and that overmastering influence which goodness in its highest form has so often exercised upon the hearts and minds of an ignorant and barbarous people.

The conversion of the King secured S. Columba against further opposition ; one chieftain after another

¹ At Craig-Phadrack,

in Glen Urquhart and Skye and elsewhere followed his example, and many Christian settlements were made in the North, the chief of which were in Aberdeen, Banffshire, and at Deer¹ in the district of Buchan. On the west coast he established colonies at Oronsay, Hinba,² Tiree, and in no less than thirty other places. In the year 574 A.D. an event took place which helped largely to propagate Christianity. Conald, King of Dalriada, died, and S. Columba, being warned in a dream to insure the succession of Aidan before the rightful heir, gave him that sacerdotal sanction which the Keltic people claimed as indisputable, and consecrated him at Iona. It is significant of the growing influence of the Church that he should have felt himself powerful enough to nominate a king of his own choice, and to have his nomination accepted virtually without resistance. It was, moreover, through his advocacy a year or two later at the Synod of Derry that Dalriada was made entirely independent, not only of the mother country of Ireland, but also of the Pictish monarch.

Ten years after Conald's death Brude also died. He was succeeded by Garunaidh, himself a convert to Christianity, who belonged to the Southern Piets. It gave to S. Columba a new opening. They had been converted two centuries before by S. Ninian, but had relapsed into Paganism. The King fixed his residence at Abernethy, where the ruined church was

¹ One of the Garveloch Islands.

² Called Aberdour before: but its name changed by Drostan at the bidding of S. Columba. Cf. *The Book of Deer*, 5, 6.

at once restored, and became a centre of Christian influence.

Columba's work was well-nigh done. He had laboured for thirty years in the country, and left the mark of his labours in almost every part, in Dalriada, Pictland, Strathclyde, and Bernicia; and then his end drew nigh. There are few more touching narratives than that in which Adamnan has described the closing scene. It was the 9th of June, 597 A.D. With a strong presentiment, which seemed to him as the articulate voice of God, that his death was at hand, as he was carried round the monastery to give the barn and fields his final blessing, he said: "This day in the Holy Scriptures is called the Sabbath; it is indeed a Sabbath rest to me, for it is the last day of a laborious life, and on it I rest after the fatigues of my labours, for already my Lord hath deigned to call me." Then in joy and thankfulness that much store was laid up for his monks when he was gone, he sat overlooking the monastery. The old favourite pack-horse, which carried the corn and milk for their daily use, came up, and with an instinctive consciousness that his master was departing, buried his head on his lap and uttered cries of lamentation. He blessed the dumb creature as it turned away, and then he blessed the monastery: "Small and mean though this place is, yet one day it shall be highly esteemed alike by kings and peasants, and even the saints of other Churches shall hold it in no common reverence." After these words he was carried to his cell, where he sat transcribing a Psalter till he reached the place where

it is written : " They that seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good " (Ps. xxxiv. 33). He then put down his pen, directing Baithene, his successor, to finish. At midnight he crept into the chapel and fell exhausted before the altar and breathed his last, but not before his hands had been raised to bless the monks that crowded round. Thus, like his great Master before him, he was parted from his disciples in the act of benediction.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MUINTIR OR FAMILY OF IONA.

The broad distinction between the Columban and the Benedictine Orders—Points of resemblance—The Apostle of Scotland only in priest's orders—The abbots of his monasteries always priests—The episcopal functions always carefully observed by S. Columba—Illustrations from S. Finchan's history and from S. Columba's—The custom of concelebration of the Mass—The position of S. Columba's abbatial authority unique—The Keltic Church not *quarto-deciman* but irregular in the observance of Easter—The tonsure of the Columban monks—The Council at Whitby—Colman's opinions—Wilfrid's reply—The King's decision—Colman's determination to adhere to his Keltic customs—S. Cuthbert—The Council on the Mount of Belief at Scone—The death of Dunchad, Abbot of Iona—The coarbs of Columcille.

THE constitution of Iona was not founded after the type of monasticism with which we have become most familiar in the West through the Benedictine Order. It is not easy to discover the causes which created the difference, but the fact is patent. The Irish, and by consequence the Scottish monasteries, followed the Eastern rather than the Roman model. The latter was rigidly ecclesiastical, adhering always to one and the same mode of government. The former, free and unfettered, save by the rules which the individual abbot imposed upon the community over which he ruled. There were, however, important points of resemblance between the Columban and the Benedictine Orders. In both the members were bound by the three great rules of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The seven corporate works of mercy were of common obligation. The sick were relieved by medicines and personal ministries, and the dead were buried with the most reverent care. Hospitality was exercised on a liberal scale. When strangers arrived at Iona it was invariably made an occasion for more liberal diet, and not infrequently the abbot granted dispensation from a fast. All the monks engaged in manual work, some at husbandry, tilling the fields, or tending cattle; others in the *Scriptorium*, copying and illuminating manuscripts, especially of the Psalter. The worship of God was duly kept up, though not with the seven-fold office, and except on Sundays and holy days the lay brethren, who were engaged in the fields, were exempted from attendance.

There were, however, points of distinct difference between the two rules. In the first place Columba was not in episcopal orders; in his day bishops were few and presbyters many in number; "the Apostle of Scotland" belonged to the second order, and it furnished a precedent for all his foundations. It became the invariable rule that the abbot should be only in priest's orders. Episcopacy was *ipso facto* a disqualification for the office. "Abbot and Presbyter" became the universal title for the head of a Columban monastery. Bede mentions it as a strange irregularity that in Iona the bishops themselves were bound to render conventual obedience to the Presbyter-abbot.

This circumstance has been urged as an argument of weight in favour of a presbyterian form of government in the Scottish Church; but it will hardly bear

the interpretation that has been put upon it. It affords, no doubt, an example of a departure from the Catholic rule touching episcopal authority, but it lends no manner of sanction to such an invasion of the prerogative of the first of the threefold order by the second as is claimed by Presbyterians.

No Columban abbot ever presumed to ordain.

S. Columba's Primacy was one of jurisdiction only, not of order ; and we have from Adamnan, his biographer, clear proof that he recognised the distinction. Two instances are recorded by him. The first relates to the ordaining power, the second to the superior order of Episcopacy.

Findchan, the abbot of a monastery in Tyree, was anxious that Aidus, a monk of royal birth whom he had brought from Ireland, should be ordained, and he summoned a bishop from a distance for the purpose. Aidus was known to have been a wicked man, who had imbued his hands in murder, and the bishop demurred unless the abbot would consent to confirm the act by laying his own hand simultaneously upon the head of Aidus. It was against the Canons of the Church that one guilty of bloodshed should be ordained, but the disqualification was set aside. S. Columba, when he heard of it, was very angry, and denounced the act in the severest terms. He predicted also that "the right hand which Findchan had impiously, and against the law of the Church, laid upon the head of this son of perdition, should speedily rot and fall off;" and that "Aidus would return like a dog to his vomit, and again be guilty of murder and bloodshed."

Whatever value may be assigned to Columba's prediction, the story testifies to the necessity of episcopal ordination, for under these very exceptional circumstances the abbot would certainly have dispensed with a bishop's presence, if the authority to ordain was in his own hands.

Here, then, is a distinct recognition of the restriction of ordination to the episcopal office. In the second case, another high function is appropriated to the bishop, viz., that of celebrating the Holy Eucharist with the pontifical rite. In the Keltic churches there was a peculiar custom called "concelebration," by which two priests united in the act of consecration. The privilege of consecrating by himself belonged to a bishop, save in cases of necessity. On one occasion, Adamnan tells us, a bishop, who through humility had not made known his rank, was invited by the abbot "to join with him in consecrating the Body of Christ, that as two priests they might break the Bread of the Lord together;" but on going to the altar Columba discovered his order, and thus addressed him: "Do thou break Bread alone, according to the episcopal rite, for I know now thou art a bishop. Why hast thou disguised thyself so long, and prevented me giving thee the honour that is due to thee?"

In the light of these records it is impossible to say that episcopal functions were ignored in the institutions of S. Columba. The position of the first abbot was almost unique; his Primacy was based on his own strong personality, and it would doubtless have been recognised even if he had been a layman.

The authority of his successors and of other abbots gained much from the precedent which he had established ; but there is no foundation for supposing that it was ever asserted except in matters of jurisdiction. In an age and a country where dioceses were yet unknown, the Primacy of the abbot involved no suspension of episcopal rights.

A second feature in which the Keltic Church differed from the rest of the Western Branch was in the time for observing Easter. It was not *quartodeciman*, in that it adhered to the Nicene Canon, where it enjoined that the festival should be kept on Sunday, but it departed from its direction in case the fourteenth of the month Nisan should fall on the first day of the week. Instead of waiting for the following Sunday the Kelts celebrated Easter on that day, and thus rejected the rule that it must always be after the vernal equinox. They disagreed again, through not accepting the astronomical calculations which had been introduced on the Continent. It involved them at times in a discrepancy of a whole month. The old cycle of eighty-four years for fixing the Paschal moon had been generally abandoned upon scientific grounds, but the Keltic Church clung tenaciously to it.

The Columban monks differed also in their mode of tonsure from the rest of Christendom. Though it had long been regarded as a mark of asceticism to cut the hair short, no special form was adopted till the close of the fifth century, when the "coronal" tonsure became general in monasteries. The top of the head was shaven, and a circle of hair left around it, to re-

call in figure the crown of thorns. The Keltic monks shaved the whole of the front, drawing a line from ear to ear, and leaving the hinder part to grow.

On both these points there was much debate in after time. Their peculiarities touching the Easter observance were submitted to a council, which was summoned in 664 A.D. to S. Hilda's new monastery at Whitby, on the site now marked by a familiar ruin. It was presided over by Oswy, whose sympathies were supposed to be with the Keltic practice. Colman, Abbot of Lindisfarne, represented the Scotie traditions and usages, and he was supported by Hilda and Cedd, Bishop of Essex, who had been ordained by the Scots, and acted as interpreter. The Catholic side was upheld by Bishop Agilbert and Abbot Wilfrid. The latter had been brought up in the Northumbrian Church, in the very monastery of his chief opponent; but in his travels in Gaul and at Rome he had become enamoured of the more Catholic usages, and he regarded it as his special mission to bring the Church of his earlier years into harmony with Western Christendom.

Colman was invited by the King to state his case. He arose and said: "My usage is that which I learned from the elders who sent me hither, and which, we read, is traced up to S. John. I dare not change it, and I have no mind to do so. We hold it as an inspired tradition that the fourteenth moon, being Sunday, is to be kept as Easter Day. Let the other side state their opinion." Then Agilbert yielded to Wilfrid as more versed in the English tongue; and the

Catholic champion, confident in his cause, and scorning his adversary, described the universal acceptance of the rule he advocated in Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, throughout the whole of Christendom, except by the clergy of Lindisfarne, and "their partners in obstinacy, the Picts and Britons, who made foolish efforts to fight against the world." A long altercation followed, in which the Scots clung to the alleged authority of S. John and their own apostle, but at last Wilfrid closed the arguments. In impassioned tones he appealed to the authority of S. Peter, and asked contemptuously whether S. Columba, with all his sanctity and wonder-working, ought to be preferred to the blessed Chief of all the Apostles, and ended by recalling the promise of Christ that He would give to him "the keys of the kingdom of heaven." The King asked whether it were indeed true that Christ had given such power to S. Peter, and whether S. Columba had received the same? And when Colman had given his answer that S. Peter had received it, but not S. Columba, the King concluded with this sentence: "This, then, is the porter whom I dare not gainsay. His decrees in all things I wish to obey, lest when I come to the doors of heaven there be none to open them, the bearer of the keys being against me." It seems strange to us that such an argument could have been seriously used, stranger still that it had any weight, but the fact remains the Synod decided in favour of the Catholic usage.

The debate upon Easter was followed by another touching the mode of tonsure. The arguments have

not been preserved, but the result was in favour of the Roman usage.

Colman remained unconvinced, and, resigning his see of Lindisfarne, with a heavy heart retired to Iona, and his departure closed the Columban rule in Northumbria. From Iona he passed to Ireland, and there died in a monastery which he founded in Connaught in the year 676 A.D.

Among the Kelts of note who accepted the decrees of Whitby was the famous Cuthbert. Next to the three saints, SS. Ninian, Kentigern, and Columba, there was no one whose influence in the Church was greater. He had been called to a holy life from tending sheep on the slopes of the Lammermoors, and became a monk in the monastery of Melrose in 651 A.D. As prior, and afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne, he became zealous in assimilating the disputed Scottish rules to those of the Roman Church; and throughout the Lothians, where his missionary labours were eminently successful, the churches and monasteries submitted to Catholic practice.

It bespeaks the hold which S. Columba had upon the Keltic churches that, in spite of the synodical decree, a large number, especially of the Northern institutions, adhered to their usages; and it was not till the beginning of the eighth century, when a new order of things was changing the monastic character of the Church, that the Catholic Easter and the Roman tonsure were universally accepted in Scotland.

In 710 A.D. Bretan, King of the Picts, summoned a council at Scone on "the Mount of Belief," and after

full deliberation issued a royal decree that he and all the nation would henceforth conform to the practice of the Universal Church in the time for observing the Feast of Easter, and that the monks should receive the coronal tonsure. The decree, however, was not publicly enforced till Dunchad, Abbot of Iona, who strongly supported the ancient system, died in 717 A.D. His death marked the cessation of Columban influence. The discontented monks came down across the Drumalban mountains, and henceforward the history of Iona is little more than a catalogue of undistinguished abbots, or, as they were henceforward designated, "Coarbs of Columciile." Their Primacy in the kingdom of the Picts was taken away.

CHAPTER V.

THE CULDEES.

The union of Picts and Scots under Kenneth—Devastations of the Norsemen—The primacy transferred from Iona to Dunkeld—The Coronation Stone placed at Scone—The Columbites give way to the Culdees—The Culdee system wrapt in obscurity—The meaning of the name—Their settlements chiefly in the Eastern parts—The Bishop of St. Andrews becomes Primus of the Scottish Church—The Culdee Abbot usually a layman—Culdee discipline usually lax—Their celibacy disputed—The plan of their monasteries—The low standard of their religious observances—Merged in secular canons.

KENNETH succeeded to the sovereignty of Dalriada in 836 A.D. His succession was fraught with important and far-reaching issues; for being closely allied, through the female line, to the royal house of the Picts, he hastened to unite them in one kingdom with the Scots, extending from the Forth to the borders of Caithness. This united dominion he designated first Albania, and finally Scotia or Scotland.

For nearly fifty years the country had suffered terribly from the devastations of the Norse and Danish vikings. Beginning with Lindisfarne in 793 A.D. they laid waste every monastery they could reach along the coast, destroyed Iona in 825 A.D., and after putting the abbot to death scattered the whole community. Kenneth at once realised the necessity of establishing the ecclesiastical headquarters on a site

less exposed to the depredations of these piratical sea-kings ; and he found what he wanted in the inland situation of Dunkeld, on the banks of the Tay. As soon as he had erected a church he conveyed thither the bones of S. Columba and transferred to it the Primacy of Scotland. The difficulty of depriving Iona of the ancient dignity was lessened by the opportune death of its abbot, Indrecht, while absent on a pilgrimage to Rome in 854 A.D.

Tradition says that he carried away at the same time the Coronation Stone and placed it at Scone ; it was a mysterious relic surrounded with a halo of antiquity, and believed to have been the stone which formed the pillow for Jacob's head at Bethel, and upon which Gathelus, the colleague of Moses, had sat to administer justice to the people of God.

Simultaneously with the transfer of the Primacy from Iona, a general change began to pass over the whole monastic system of Scotland. The Columbites gave place to the Culdees. The origin of these latter, even many of their chief distinguishing features, are wrapt in doubt and obscurity. Three centuries, from the beginning of the ninth onwards — the period, that is, during which they rose, flourished, and fell into decay—have given us no historian, not even a biographer. There are incidental allusions scattered here and there in varied documents, and nothing more. We can hardly wonder, then, that conjecture has run wild, and that most conflicting theories have been constructed about them. Their system has been made a battle-ground between the contending factions

of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, each claiming them for its own. There is little doubt at the present time that they first appeared in Ireland, and the best etymologists have derived their title from *Céle Dé*, which signifies "a servant of God."¹ If this be right, we have a signal illustration of the oft-repeated degradation of high and religious words, in the fact that its sole representative is now to be found in the Highland "gilly" so familiar to sportsmen as a game-keeper's assistant.

Perhaps the earliest definite notice of the Culdees is to be found in the *Chartulary of S. Andrews*, written about 1130 A.D., which embodies the tradition that Brude, the last of the Picts, "gave the island of Lochleven to the Culdee hermits who dwelt there and served God." It is worthy of notice that wherever they are spoken of, they seemed to have been settled in the eastern or Pictish portion of the country, and generally in close connection with St. Andrews. Their spread was exceedingly rapid, made all the more easy, no doubt, through the scattering of the Columban monks by the raids of the heathen Norsemen. They established the chief of their settlements in Dunkeld, Abernethy, Brechin, S. Andrews, Dull and Deer. Kenneth had signalled the union of the Scots and Picts by transferring the ecclesiastical Primacy from Iona to Dunkeld, but its possession of primatial honours was destined to be of brief duration. King Constantine called a Council at Scone in 908 A.D., and as one of the results of its delibera-

¹ The best authority is Reeves, "On the Culdees."

tions the Bishop of S. Andrews was raised to the dignity of Primus of Scotland, or, as it had lately been called for the first time, of "the Scottish Church."¹ The Culdee monastery at S. Andrews still remained, but its abbot was not the bishop. Indeed, it was one of the characteristic features of a Culdee monastery that its highest office was filled by a layman. He was often of noble, sometimes of royal, blood; Constantine himself, when he abdicated his throne in 943 A.D., was elected abbot of the Culdees in S. Andrews; and Crinan, the father of "the gracious Duncan," was abbot of Dunkeld. Thus the head of the Culdee houses, being usually a man of influence, was tempted to use his position for aggrandisement; lands were seized by force and monastic revenues used for private advantage. The abbot became a great territorial magnate. The spiritual functions of the community he delegated to a prior, who was in holy orders, and a College of priests. Their discipline was unquestionably lax, and the once familiar expression, "the pure Culdee," is now allowed to have been only an unauthorised poetical license. Whether they took upon themselves celibate vows it is quite impossible to decide. Ascetic living and celibacy were certainly regarded as laudable practices, but the monks were unquestionably free to accumulate property, and evidence is by no means wanting to show that marriage was not altogether prohibited. The records of Dunkeld state that Constantine "placed religious men,

¹ "Constantinus Rex (King Giric) dedit libertatem ecclesiæ Scoticanæ." *Annals of Scotl.*, p. 151. He reigned 878-889 A.D. The Pictish name is called Epscop. Alban., *id.* p. 191.

commonly called Kaledai or Colidei, *i.e.*, worshippers of God, who according to the rite of the Eastern Church had wives, from whom, however, they separated while ministering in their course in the Church of S. Regulus, now S. Andrews." Yet further the historian of S. Andrews gives an account of thirteen Culdees who held their office *per successionem carnalem*, by hereditary tenure, and lived rather after their own pleasure and the traditions of men than the rules of the holy fathers. The expression, however, is made ambiguous by a subsequent statement that "after they became Culdees they were not allowed to keep their wives in their houses."¹ If this seems to imply that though married before, yet on joining the monastery they separated from their wives, the etymology of many familiar Scottish names, dating from this age, such as Macnab, Macprior, Macpherson, Macvicar—*i.e.*, son of an abbot, prior, parson, or vicar—supports the belief that the Culdees did marry and have children.

In literary work they were vastly inferior to their predecessors, for they have left absolutely nothing to posterity; and in missionary zeal and enterprise they have established no claim to distinction. They made no efforts to extend the Faith.

Like the Benedictines, they built their monasteries for the most part on one uniform plan; in the centre was a rectangular church, with the entrance on the west and the altar at the east; round this were a number of bee-hive cells of uncemented stone, with dome-shaped roofs; occasionally, as at Abernethy

¹ Chron. of the Picts, p. 188.

and Brechin, they built a lofty tower to dominate the settlement ; the whole was protected by a strong wall or fortified rampart.

They were far less strict than the Columbites in regard to their daily worship and religious offices, and, whether from a superstitious dread or some other unknown cause, they were satisfied with a rare participation of the Holy Eucharist. They treated Sunday for the most part as a working day ; and the fasts of the Church were not kept according to the Catholic rule.

In lapse of time they lost their monastic character, and were finally brought under the canonical rule with the secular clergy ; and Culdee became little more than a synonym for a secular canon.

CHAPTER VI.

MARGARET, QUEEN OF EARTHLY QUEENS.

Malcolm's succession to the throne—His first marriage—Results of the battle of Senlac—Edgar Atheling's reception at Dunfermline—His daughter Margaret married to Malcolm—Their respective characters—Margaret's influence on her husband—The sincerity of his penitence—Her reign commences a new ecclesiastical era in Scotland—Keltic customs yield to Teutonic—The time favourable for changes desired by the Queen—The church of Dunfermline built—The monastery founded—Margaret meets Scottish theologians in debate—The Lenten Fast—The Easter Communion—The observance of Sunday—Marriage laws and forbidden degrees—Barbarous rites in the Keltic mode of celebration—Margaret's blessing at meals—Her care in the education of her children—Malcolm killed at Alnwick—Margaret's death.

MALCOLM CANMORE, or Great Head, eldest son of "the gracious Duncan,"¹ succeeded to the throne on the Feast of S. Mark, 1057 A.D. It was a happy omen that he should begin his reign on a Church festival, for he was destined to confer upon the Church no less than the State inestimable blessings. He married Ingeborg, a Norwegian princess from

¹ A critic reading these pages has interpreted the expression "the gracious Duncan" as intended to indorse the history embodied in Shakespeare's "Macbeth." Instead of omitting it, I have availed myself of the opportunity of a note, which may at least lead people to investigate the evidence for the traditional belief. Haile, in his "Annals," i. 1-4, has shown that this is inconsistent with historical facts. Macbeth "broke no law of hospitality in attempting Duncan's life;" he slew him in fair fight, not in his own castle at Inverness, but at Bothgowan, near Elgin; and though he ascended the throne by violence, he had a better claim to it, according to the rule

the North of Scotland, but she died in giving birth to a son. He had not, however, been long a widower, when an apparently accidental circumstance threw in his way one who not only gained his affections, but changed the whole current of his life and largely affected the welfare and the ecclesiastical character of Scotland.

The battle of Senlac or Hastings, in which Harold was defeated and slain, put an end to the line of Saxon kings in England. The legitimate heir to the throne, Edgar Atheling, had been set aside by his father, the Confessor, and now he was compelled to seek safety in flight from the invader. He had lived in earlier years at the Court of Hungary, his mother's native land, and thither he determined to repair with her and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina; but the ship encountered violent weather, and they were driven far out of their course to the coast of Scotland. Malcolm Canmore was then living at Dunfermline, and news was brought to him of the unexpected arrival of a vessel with distinguished persons on board. The King hastened to the harbour, and finding out who they were, invited them to his palace;

of Scottish succession, than Duncan. Banquo, whom Macbeth is said to have treacherously put to death, is unknown to history. Fleance is a myth. Sir Walter Scott adopted the poetical tradition in the "*Tales of a Grandfather*," but in later life altogether gave it up; and he spoke of the "inaccurate historians," Hollingshed especially, from whom Shakespeare drew his materials. If his judgment is true, we shall have done right in calling attention to the fiction; for he says, "While the works of Shakespeare are read and the English language subsists, history may say what she will, but the general reader will only recollect Macbeth as a sacrilegious usurper." Lardner's "*Cabinet Cyclopædia*," i. 17-19.

he was at once enamoured of the eldest daughter, a maiden of surpassing grace and beauty, and in a short time he offered her his hand and a share in his kingdom. The offer was accepted, and the union that followed was fraught with important results to Scotland, and in one respect to England also, for it was through Margaret that the old kingly blood passed into the veins of the Confessor's descendants, when Henry I. married her daughter Matilda.

It would have been difficult to discover two persons more dissimilar in character than Malcolm and Margaret, but Margaret must have been conscious of possessing that mysterious power which all history proves may be used with a certainty of success even upon most unpromising material, and in reliance upon this she made the venture. Her husband was a rough, uncultured man, no imperfect type of his own uncivilised realm, but beneath an almost barbarous exterior there were latent qualities, capable of being developed under judicious guidance for useful purposes. He had by nature a kind and affectionate heart, and although himself so rude, he was able to appreciate gentleness in others. Perhaps his best characteristic was his courage and determined hatred of all that was mean and cowardly. Once he discovered that some of his followers had formed a conspiracy to murder him whenever an opportunity should offer of securing him unprotected and off his guard. Instead of bringing them at once to punishment, he singled out one, the chief traitor, when they were riding in the fields, and calling him apart to a retired spot, challenged him, if

he had any valour, to single combat, and vehemently denounced his treacherous plot. It bespeaks the generosity of his heart to read that he accepted the man's confession and still retained him in the royal service. All these good features in his character were largely developed by his marriage with Margaret, who was a rare impersonation of feminine graces and a bright example of the highest Christian sanctity. Indeed, all that is best in womankind and most distinctly Christian found a living expression in her life, and she had the happiness to see her husband growing day by day in likeness to herself without sacrificing the strength of his own manliness. He learned to wonder at the depth of her devotion, and to take part in those charities which she dispensed with her own hands, and not, as is often the case in kings' houses, without personal self-sacrifice of any kind. Though unable himself to read, he admired and was often seen to kiss the books of devotion from which he learnt that she derived such comfort, and adorned them with splendid bindings and costly jewels; and he went further in imitating her religious aims. "I confess," says her biographer, "I was astonished at the miracle of mercy, when I perceived in the King such a steady earnestness in his devotion; and I wondered how it was that there could exist in the heart of a man living in the world such an entire sorrow for sin."¹

Under Queen Margaret's influence the Court became a model of purity and self-denial; the virgins that were her companions vied with each other in good

¹ Turgot's "Life of S. Margaret,"

works, and feelings of the truest chivalry for women grew up among the royal attendants from the highest to the lowest. Not so much as an unseemly word found utterance in the presence of the Queen.

Her personal history is a fascinating theme, but her reign inaugurated such a new era of ecclesiastical reformation that we must turn from her private life to her public work. It is necessary, however, before doing so, to vindicate her from the charge of ostentation and vanity so often alleged by writers who are offended at her canonisation. "With all the parade of humility," it is said, "there was an equal display of pride. Her dress was gorgeous, her retinue large, and her coarse fare must needs be served in dishes of silver and gold." But an unbiassed investigation will fail to discover anything more than a laudable desire to maintain the dignity of the regal state. Indeed, it redounds to her credit that, though nothing could have been more uncongenial to her personal inclinations, she accepted and encouraged all the pomp and circumstance with which royalty is advantageously, if not necessarily, invested.

Queen Margaret's accession marked a new epoch in the character of the Church. S. Columba had stamped upon it a purely Keltic constitution; S. Margaret reconstituted it after the Teutonic model.

There was a noteworthy coincidence of circumstances attending the commencement of either epoch. A few rude coracles, tossed upon a restless sea, landed an unpretending company of Irish monks, who, tradition says, were banished from their home on a solitary

island, and they became the pioneers of a religion which continued to spread even farther and farther for five centuries. Even so, a single storm-tossed vessel, carrying a family of exiles far from the refuge they were seeking, proved to be the bearer of one who transformed the features of the Church in every part of the country.

She had brought to the Scottish throne the blood of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and she wished to do for the Church no less than she had done for the realm. Her first aim was to secure the co-operation of the King and Court, and teach them to admire and adopt English habits and practices, and then with redoubled energy she bent all her efforts to assimilate the Church of her adopted country to that of her native land.

The task was made easier by the vast influx of Saxon nobles, who had fled from England and the oppressive enactments of the Conqueror, and settled in the North as feudal barons under the Scottish King. They eagerly seconded the Queen in her endeavour to introduce the customs in which they had themselves been brought up.

Margaret began her happy reign by persuading her husband to erect a beautiful church at Dunfermline, the fort on the winding Linn, to commemorate their marriage. The right of royal sepulture was transferred to it from Iona by royal command, and it became "the Westminster Abbey of Scotland" as the burial-place of a long line of Scottish kings.

Her next act of liberality to the Church was the

foundation of a monastery, also at Dunfermline; and her English proclivities were shown by an application to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, to send over a body of English monks to take possession and conduct it after the Benedictine rule. It was not, however, so much by her endowments as by her reforms that she left her impress upon the Church.

Turgot, who was prior of Durham and her own confessor, has entered fully in her biography into the changes she introduced, and the means by which she remoulded some important ecclesiastical customs. There are few more striking scenes of the kind than the assemblies of priests and theologians she called together, in which she combated the perverse Keltic usages. She was supported by some friends whom Lanfranc had sent to her assistance; and the presence of the King, acting as interpreter of the English language, with which he had been long familiar, must have placed her on a vantage-ground, but her skill and power of debate witness to a very strong personality. Like a second Helena she met her clergy in argument, and convincing them out of the Scriptures and the ancient fathers, gained a complete victory upon every point that was brought into dispute.

The first point upon which she resolved to take her stand was one very near to her heart, for it touched a practice of self-denial which she had rigidly carried out in her own life. The Keltic Church did not commence the Lenten Fast, as the Universal Church did, on Ash-Wednesday, but on the Monday of the following week; and as Sundays have invariably, from the earliest

times, been regarded as feasts, instead of forty days they only observed thirty-six.¹ Her demonstration of the force of the Catholic custom was so convincing that, Turgot says, "they began henceforward the solemnities of the fast as the Holy Church observes them everywhere." This was her first reform.

The second point was connected with the Easter Communion. Through some unexplained reason, probably of a superstitious nature, the Kelts in Scotland had almost wholly neglected the universal practice of receiving the body and blood of Christ on Easter Day. It may have been—and the reason alleged by them in the debate favours the idea—that the same extravagant fear which fills the breast of Scotchmen in the Highlands to-day, and keeps back from Communion even the most pious, had operated in the same direction in those earlier times; at least the argument which they used indicates as much. "The Apostle," they said, "teaches that those who eat and drink unworthily eat and drink judgment to themselves; and since we acknowledge ourselves to be sinners, we fear to approach that mystery lest we too should eat and drink the same judgment." This argument furnishes a reason for total abstinence from participation; it leaves unsolved their motive for absenting themselves at Easter, which was the ground of complaint; but the Queen, by a skilful handling, dealt with both, showing first

¹ It is doubtful at what time this custom began. In Gregory the Great's time there were only thirty-six days, but in the ninth century the change had been generally made. The Greek Church excludes Saturdays as well as Sundays from this Fast, and begins Lent on the Monday before Sexagesima.

how Christ's declaration, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you," contradicted their interpretation; and then explaining that if they "confessed their sins and cleansed their souls by penance, and drew near on Easter Day to receive the body of the Spotless Lamb, they would not eat and drink to judgment, but to the remission of sins." Her arguments prevailed; and Turgot says, "Knowing now the meaning of the Church's practices, they observed them henceforward in the sacrament of salvation."

A third reform was a stricter observance of Sunday. It seems strange to hear the desecration of the Lord's Day associated with Scotchmen, but it is very probable that the charge was based upon a practice not by any means unknown among devout Christians of the early Church. In Ireland, as in some other parts, it had been the custom to keep Saturday as emphatically a Sabbath¹ or day of rest, and, while marking Sunday by Christian worship, to hold themselves free to engage in servile work and follow their worldly business. Scotland, it is well known, inherited most of her ecclesiastical rule from the Irish Church. Margaret pleaded for a due observance of the day which the Lord had signalised by His resurrection, and argued that servile work was out of harmony with the thought that it commemorated our deliver-

¹ There are several references to the double observance in the "Apostolical Constitutions," ii. 59. 1; vii. 23. 2; viii. 33. 1. It was mainly an Eastern custom. Gregory the Great states distinctly that "to cause the Sabbath to be kept from work" is a "sign of Antichrist." Nevertheless it did prevail in some Churches of the West.

ance from the servitude of Satan. They not only accepted her ruling, but resolved to maintain the sanctity of the day by more than ordinary strictness.

A fourth reform was effected by putting a stop to certain incestuous marriages which had become common in Scotland. The laws of affinity had been disregarded especially in the two cases of union with a deceased brother's wife and with a stepmother. In her abhorrence of such a violation of the first principles of marriage which makes man and wife "one flesh," and the relations of the one the relations of the other, the Queen persuaded her subjects to observe "the forbidden degrees" in future.

There is yet another reform which she brought about, but nothing is told us beyond the fact that she freed the celebration of the Holy Communion from "certain barbarous rites." We are left to conjecture what the exact change could have been. It has been supposed that before this date the Ephesine and Roman Liturgies had been used contemporaneously in Scotland, and that the Queen endeavoured to suppress the former. Roman Catholic writers have suggested that it was the use of the vernacular instead of the Latin language; but to suppose that she was anxious to introduce a language "better understood of the people," it has been significantly said, is "to antedate the Reformation." All we can feel sure of is, that in some way she desired to assimilate the Scottish Liturgy more closely to that of the Anglican Church. That she did not altogether succeed is manifest from the testimony that half a century later the Culdees

"used to celebrate their own office after their own fashion."¹

There is one more act, if not directly connected with the Church, yet tending to influence the religious life of the people, which is worthy of record. It shocked Queen Margaret's instinctive feelings of gratitude for God's mercies that the habit of giving thanks at meals had been almost entirely lost. She instituted at her Court the "grace drink," or what was commonly known in after-times as "Margaret's blessing." It was one of the Anglo-Saxon customs she loved, and its adoption in her kingdom, like other reforms, was readily accepted. It still survives in England, in the two Universities and at the municipal banquets of the Mansion House, where the guests pass round the grace or loving cup, as a token of friendly regard, and then return thanks to God for the good things they have enjoyed through His bounty.

We would gladly dwell upon the private virtues of this "queen of earthly queens," for they were worthy of all imitation, but we are not writing a personal biography. One principle of her home life, however, left such an enduring impress upon the welfare of her kingdom for many generations that it deserves a place of record even in a history of the Church—that is, the education of her children. Her union with Malcolm gave them six sons and two daughters, and as a mother she never ceased to inculcate the faith by which she lived, and to instil into their minds the infinite satisfaction which followed

¹ Chron. Picts and Scots, p. 190.

an implicit belief in the overruling providence of God. The refrain of all her teaching was the oft-repeated assurance, "They who fear the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good." Her last injunction to her confessor was, that he would never forget the spiritual life of her children, but try to keep them humble when exalted in dignity, and teach them in the midst of worldly prosperity to fix their eyes on the blessings of that which is eternal. Her constant aim was that her sons should grow up to be worthy of a kingly race, and her prayers were answered. For two hundred years her descendants ruled over the land, and never before or since has it enjoyed greater happiness.

After a reign of thirty-four years Malcolm died, November 13, 1093 A.D. What he would have been but for his saintly wife no one knows, but what he became under the influence of her beautiful life no one doubts :—

"No woman bore or will bring forth in the East
A king whose rule will be greater over Alban ;
And there shall not be born for ever
One who had had more fortune or greatness."¹

He fell with his eldest son, Edward, fighting against William Rufus, at Alnwick in Northumberland. The Queen only survived him a few days ; wasted by fastings and self-imposed austerities, she was seized with a fatal sickness at Edinburgh, and her end was near when her son Edgar arrived from the battlefield with the disastrous tidings. Her sick-chamber was

¹ Chron. Picts and Scots, p. 103.

in the castle on the rock that frowns upon the city, and thither he hastened into her presence. As he approached her bed she gathered up all her remaining strength, and asked, "How fares it, my boy, with your father and brother?" Fearing the effects if he should tell her plainly what had befallen them, he answered with emotion, "It is well." Something told her the meaning of his words, and appealing to him by the Black Rood which she was clasping in her hands, adjured him to keep back nothing of the truth; and when she heard it all, she raised her voice in thanksgiving to God that He had sent her pain even at the last, trusting that by means of her suffering she might be cleansed at least from some of her sins; and then, after one brief moment of agony, in peace and tranquillity she yielded up her spirit to God Who gave it. It was a coincidence of striking import that at the same hour Fothad died, the last Keltic Bishop of S. Andrews.

CHAPTER VII.

QUEEN MARGARET'S ROYAL SONS.

Brief reaction against Teutonic influence—Queen Margaret's sons superseded—Succession of Edgar—His character—The Primacy left vacant—The introduction of parish churches—Alexander succeeds to the throne—His chief characteristic—He appoints Turgot primate—Disputed right of consecration by York and Canterbury—Turgot's death—Renewed dispute—Eadmer of Canterbury nominated, but not consecrated—The diocesan system developed—Moray and Dunkeld erected dioceses—The boar's chase given to the Primatial See—Monasteries founded at Scone and Inchcolm—David succeeds—Reconstitutes the See of Glasgow—Other dioceses formed—Norwegian influence in the North—Olaf Tryggvason—The saintly Magnus—The Benedictine Order supersedes the Culdees—Military Orders introduced—Knights of S. John and the Templars—The influence of the monasteries—In literature, education, agriculture, and charity—Abolition of trial by ordeal—Encouragement of chivalry—Death of David—Tradition of the protection afforded by the spirits of the family of Queen Margaret.

QUEEN MARGARET had inaugurated, and largely contributed to, the assimilation of the Scottish to the English Church. It remained for her sons to prove their loyalty to their mother's memory by carrying to completion what has not inaptly been described as "the Saxon Conquest." There was a brief period of reaction after her death; the Keltic population seemed suddenly to awake to the realisation of the danger impending over the civil and religious rights of the nation and their sympathies were called out

in support of Donald, who by the law of Tanistry¹ was really the lawful heir. But it was too late; the stream of Anglo-Saxon and Norman invasion had come in like a flood, and though its influence might be checked it was far too strong to be permanently driven back. There were two or three short reigns, in which the good Queen's sons were superseded, and then Edgar Atheling interposed to recover the succession for his sister's line. Her fourth son, Edgar, was selected as King, and crowned at Scone in 1097 A.D. It was an uneventful reign, as far as his personal action or influence were concerned; but the marriage of his sister Matilda to Henry, King of England, greatly facilitated the object so dear to his mother's heart. It drew the two countries into closer union.

Edgar inherited much of his mother's gentle nature and goodness but none of his father's energy and force, and he contented himself with having reopened in one direction the way for English ascendancy in ecclesiastical affairs. It marks his hesitancy, that he made no appointment to the Primacy, urgent though it seemed, for it had been already vacant for four years; but he restored and re-endowed the monastery of Coldingham, which had been ravaged and destroyed by the Danes, and he was the first to establish the Parochial system and build what is properly called "a Parish Church." Hitherto there had been

¹ By this the chieftainship of a clan in Ireland was elective. The members met on the death of a chief and nominated usually the next brother, not the son, to be *tanist*—i.e., elected captain. Cf. Spenser, "View of the State of Ireland."

no such ecclesiastical divisions in Scotland as are now designated parishes, nor yet, as we shall see hereafter, dioceses. When the King made a grant of land to Saxon and Norman settlers they became lords of the manor, and they built churches on the estate for their dependants, and endowed them with tithes. The King himself inaugurated the principle by bestowing upon Thor, an Englishman, the manorial lands of Ednam, on the marches of Scotland, and having built a church for those who worked and dwelt on the manor, endowed it with "a ploughgate of land." In this case the church was served from a monastery, and the monks of Coldingham received the tithes, Thor stipulating with them for their services, and especially providing that they should pray for the soul of the founder. In a later reign we find no less than thirty-two parishes thus served from one monastery, that of Arbroath; and there is little doubt that this wholesale usurpation of the service of parishes led to abuse and neglect. Generally speaking, however, the lord of the manor tithed the land and appointed an independent priest to perform all the spiritual functions. Not infrequently the parish received the name of the lord, as, for example, Robertson, Symington, Lamington, Thankerton, which had for their manorial landowners Robert, Simon Lockhart, Lambin, and Tancard, who also gave his name to Tankerville. The parish priests were for the most part brought from England, but sometimes they were chosen from the families of those who had already become settlers. In either case they were foreigners.

Thus the establishment of the Parochial system advanced still further the process of assimilation of the Scottish to the English Church.

Alexander, the fifth son of Margaret, who succeeded in 1107 A.D., like his predecessor, possessed a large measure of his mother's goodness and piety ; but, unlike Edgar, was inspired also with a strength and determination which recalled his father's chief characteristic, and gained him the title of "Alexander the Fierce." His first ecclesiastical act was to fill the See of St. Andrews, which had been vacant for fourteen years, and he did without hesitation what his brother had shrunk from—he nominated an Englishman. His choice fell upon Turgot, his mother's confessor, prior of the cathedral church of Durham. The appointment opened up a dispute, not soon to be closed, touching the authority of York and Canterbury in Scotch consecrations. When Pope Gregory gave his commission to S. Augustine with jurisdiction over the British bishops, he provided that at his death this should be divided between the two Archbishops of York and Canterbury. It seemed only natural that the North should recognise the supremacy of the former, the South that of the latter. So long, however, as the Scottish Church remained Keltic, looking to Ireland as its mother, York was contented to leave the authority over it in abeyance ; but, now that it was manifestly desirous of severing the old connection, the time seemed to have arrived for York to assert its rights. Edgar had not felt strong enough to resist the claim, otherwise he would have nominated to the

See of S. Andrews. He dreaded an enforcement of the jurisdiction which had been settled some years before at the Council of Windsor, when Lanfranc of Canterbury ceded all spiritual authority over churches north of the Humber to Thomas of York. The claims of York had gained strength, moreover, from the union of the Lothians, to which S. Andrews and Glasgow belonged, with the kingdom of Northumbria. Before an opportunity of exercising these rights over the Scottish churches had occurred, Anselm succeeded Lanfranc in the chair of S. Augustine, and was not prepared to accede to the Windsor settlement. So it came to pass that when the consecration of Turgot was mooted, he would only consent to its taking place at York after a provisional acknowledgment that it was "without prejudice to the rights of his See." Turgot died in 1115 A.D., and the dispute broke out afresh. Alexander, with all his desire to bring the Churches of the two countries into closer accord, could ill brook anything that savoured of foreign subjection; but in his determination to shake off the claims of York he threw himself into the arms of Canterbury, or, still worse, Rome. He thought there was more to fear from the Northern Primacy owing to its proximity to his own dominions; and he made an unfounded admission in a letter to Ralph, Primate of the South, which is, in fact, directly contradicted by history, viz., that Scottish bishops had always received their consecration either from the Pope or the Archbishop of Canterbury. He deemed it advisable, however, for the present, not to test the question on any definite

issue, and no steps were taken to appoint a successor to Turgot. After the lapse of a few years Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, was sent to Scotland, and he received the suffrages of the clergy of S. Andrews, together with the King's consent as a candidate for the bishopric; but when the question of consecration was mooted a difficulty arose: the monk declared positively that he would submit to nothing which derogated from the honour of his old Primate, and the King was equally determined that no act should be allowed to compromise the independence of S. Andrews. No means of reconciling the conflicting claims could be devised, and Eadmer returned to his monastery, leaving the Scottish See to wait some six more years for a bishop. It was by no means the only dispute of the kind, but it will suffice to point out the difficulties of the situation.

Alexander left his mark upon the Scottish Church mainly by a development of the diocesan system. Hitherto, with one single exception, the government of the Church had been abbatial rather than episcopal. Throughout the lifetime of S. Columba, even as a Presbyter-abbot, he had exercised jurisdiction, and the central authority in any district where he had founded a monastery lay in its head. He claimed the allegiance even of bishops. When Alexander ascended the throne the only diocesan prelate was the Bishop of S. Andrews. The North of Scotland had been but little touched by the influence of the Church. Missionaries had visited the country, but neither the monks of Iona nor the Culdees had made any real

impression upon it; indeed, the latter had wholly neglected it. The King constituted Moray a diocese, and appointed Gregory bishop. This action, however, received so little encouragement from the few churchmen in the neighbourhood, that nearly a hundred years elapsed before the Bishops of Moray settled there in permanent residence. The cathedral was not built till 1224 A.D.

Dunkeld also was made into a diocese. A church and monastery had been built there two centuries before, and a portion of S. Columba's remains had been translated thither; and it was the possession of these relics which gave to the Abbot of Dunkeld the dignity of Primacy over the Columban foundations. In lapse of time lay-abbots were appointed under the Culdee régime, and in the beginning of the eleventh century Abbot Crinan married a daughter of Malcolm II., and from him descended a long line of Scottish kings. When Dunkeld was created a diocese the Culdees were superseded, or of their own free-will became secular canons of the cathedral. In addition to these two new foundations Alexander enriched the Church by endowing the Primatial See with the rich possession known as "the Boar's Chase." The surrender of the land was marked by some significant but strange rites. The King's Arabian hunter, clothed in its costliest trappings, was led into the cathedral church, and dedicated at the altar in the presence of the court and assembled nobility.

Two monastic institutions were founded by the same royal hand. At Scone he planted a colony of

According to Dioceses.





Augustinian canons brought from a monastery in Yorkshire; and he formed a priory at Inchcolm, an island in the Firth of Forth, to commemorate an act of hospitality shown to him by a hermit under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. This closed his benefactions to the Church, and he died at Stirling in 1124 A.D. He had contributed largely to the conversion of his native Church after the Anglican model: it remained for his brother and successor, David, to crown the work.

David, "the saintly son of a saintly mother," during his brother's reign exercised quasi-sovereign rights over the province of Cumbria, and he began at once to promote the welfare of the Church by reconstructing the See of Glasgow. The line of bishops begun by Kentigern had long been broken. The Lothians became the battle-ground of contending nations, and it was inevitable that the ecclesiastical status of the Church of Glasgow should be involved in the common vicissitudes and disturbance. But during his governorship, when matters were more settled, in 1115 A.D., he rebuilt the cathedral, restored the bishopric, and assigned to it a diocese under the rule of John, his old tutor.

On his accession to the Crown other dioceses were speedily formed: Dunblane, Brechin, Galloway, Aberdeen, and Caithness, and Chapters of deans and canons appointed to their several cathedral churches. These were formed on what is known now as the model of "the old foundations," with an archdeacon, chancellor, precentor, and treasurer. Among these the Bishopric

of Caithness deserves special notice. The whole of the extreme north of Scotland was practically under the dominion of Norway. In their predatory incursions the Norsemen had gained possession of Orkney and the Hebrides, Caithness and Sutherlandshire, and all these owed civil fealty to the Norwegian king, and in so far as they were Christians¹ they acknowledged obedience to the Metropolitan of Drontheim. It is singular that the first missionary who left any real impress upon the Northern regions was not a Scotchman but a Norwegian—the warlike apostle, Olaf Tryggvason, who had been converted in the Cornish isles of Scilly. His history is wrapt in no little obscurity. His biographer says, “His life is an epic of extraordinary interest. Coming out of darkness, he reigns five short years (995–1000 A.D.), during which he accomplishes his great design, the Christianising of Norway and all her colonies; and then in the height of his glory, with the halo of holiness and heroism undimmed on his head, he vanishes again.”²

During David’s reign the faith of Christ had laid a wide hold on the people. The Orkney archipelago was partly ruled over by “the saintly Magnus,” who died a martyr’s death in 1110 A.D.; but his memory was faithfully cherished, as the building of Kirkwall Cathedral in 1139 A.D. bears testimony. The martyr’s sister’s son undertook the work in revenge

¹ Sigurd, son-in-law of Malcolm II., had been converted, and his son, Thorpin, built a church in Orkney. His grandson, Magnus Erlendson, was treacherously murdered by Haco.

² *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ii. 83.

for his treacherous death; and the oblations of the people were so large that "all Christendom" seemed to have paid tribute for its erection.¹ Magnus was made its patron saint.

King David turned from diocesan to monastic institutions, and in addition to founding new ones he determined to eliminate all traces of the Culdees in those that existed. His new foundations after the Benedictine Order were Selkirk, Dunfermline, Kelso, Lesmahagow, Urquhart, Dryburgh, and Paisley; after the Augustinian, Jedburgh, Cambuskenneth, and Holyrood; after the Cistercian, Kinloss, Melrose, Newbattle, and Dundrennan. In many of them foreign monks were installed, from Alnwick in Dryburgh, from Canterbury in Dunfermline, from Much Wenlock in Paisley, from Beauvais in Jedburgh, and from Rievaulx in Melrose and Dundrennan, and in each case the mother constitution was exactly copied. It was a complete denationalising of the monastic constitution of the country.

These, however, do not complete the list of the royal benefactions—a Cistercian convent for women was built at Berwick and amply endowed. Yet, further, the military orders were established in many parts of Scotland, and their influence made itself largely felt. None were more popular at this time than the Knights of S. John and the Templars. An air of sacred romance had gathered round their origin. A body of merchants from Amalfi, near Naples, about 1050 A.D., conceived the idea of providing for the wants of Christian

¹ *Scoti-Monasticon*, p. 34.

pilgrims who flocked to Jerusalem, and they built a monastery in the holy city. The part they played when Godfrey defeated the infidel in his famous victory led him to acknowledge their services by giving permanence to their foundation. It was accounted a dignity of the first order to belong to the Knights ; and it enlisted the affections of the highest ranks of society, no one being admitted who could not trace his nobility through at least four generations. They observed the Augustinian Order, and their distinctive dress was a black habit embroidered with a cross of gold. Though their primary object lay in defending the rights of Christians against the Turks and Saracens in the Holy Land, they spread far and wide, and, under the munificent hand of King David, formed an important settlement at Torphichen, and built hospitals in Leith and Edinburgh.

The second order, the Templars, which originated with the same design, but degenerated from their religious aim into a mere military organisation, multiplied with even greater rapidity, and it is said that they had as many as 9000 settlements in Europe in the twelfth century. They were distinguished from their kindred order by wearing a white habit emblazoned with a blood-red cross. The King brought them to Scotland, and established them on the river of South Esk and at Oggerstone in Stirlingshire, and other places in the names of which "temple" occurs ; as, for example, Temple Ronag, Temple Douglas, and Mount Temple are an abiding witness to their possessions, and the sign of the Cross still visible on

the gables of houses in Leith and Edinburgh marks their ancient habitations.

One more step was taken by the King in his adoption of English usages. It is by no means easy to decide what type of Liturgy had been used in Scotland during the Keltic supremacy. It clearly was not the Roman, for Bede has recorded an unsuccessful attempt of Adamnan in 688 A.D. to enforce this upon his Church. By the Council of Cloveshoo in 747 A.D. it had been ordered for use in England, but it was far from becoming general. After the Conquest the Sarum Use of Osmund, which was practically the Roman with certain Norman and English local peculiarities, came to be regarded as the authorised English form for eucharistic worship, and the Saxon and Norman Christians who took refuge in Scotland in such overwhelming numbers must have taken the Sarum Liturgy with them. Aided and encouraged by the royal family it soon became the national rite, and was accepted throughout the country.

Now it is impossible to read the history of all these clerical and monastic foundations without staying to estimate their power and influence over the nation. The impulse which David gave to ecclesiastical benefactions was such that during the next few centuries it was calculated that at least half of the wealth of Scotland had passed into the hands of the Church. He has been often attacked, vehemently attacked, for his profuse liberality, by which, it is asserted, his successors were so impoverished that they were compelled to lay upon the people oppressive taxation ;

but he has been amply vindicated from the charge. It is true that in later times these institutions were abused ; this, however, was the fault of men, not of the things themselves, and it is no hard task to show what vast blessings these foundations of Queen Margaret's sons conferred upon Scotland.

In literature the preservation of learning must be placed entirely to the credit of the monasteries. In an age when printing was unknown, it was the monks who multiplied the writings not only of sacred but of classical authors, and saved them from perishing.

In education the monks shared with the parish clergy the honour of being the sole instructors of the young.

In agriculture it was their industry and intelligence that brought waste lands under cultivation ; they made the wilderness to blossom with fertility, and extended the arts of husbandry into most barbarous regions.

In charity and care for the poor, at times when little provision was made by the State, they exercised almost unbounded hospitality. Some conception of its vastness may be gathered from a record of one episode in David's reign. Towards its close a sore famine broke out in the South, and no less than 4000 half-famished creatures repaired to Melrose, and, rearing their huts in the neighbourhood of the abbey, were daily fed at the bidding of Waltheof, the Superior.

This eventful epoch of Scottish history was marked not only by beneficial institutions, but also by the abolition of long-standing abuses, through the enlightening influence of the Church. One well worthy of notice was the barbarous process known as "trial

by ordeal." It was an established conviction among ignorant nations that where positive proof of innocence or guilt was wanting, God would interpose to prevent the miscarriage of justice. If any one were suspected of a crime but were unable to bring forward witnesses in disproof of it, he was forced to perform certain acts in the presence of the priests which, under ordinary circumstances, would inevitably inflict injury. If he escaped unhurt his innocence was established; if not, the suspicion was deemed to be confirmed. The two commonest processes were by fire and water. In the former the accused was ordered either to walk through flames clothed in a waxen shirt, or else to take up and carry for a considerable distance a red-hot iron in his naked hand. In the latter, he was ordered to lift a heavy stone out of a cauldron of boiling water. If, after a definite lapse of time, his feet or hands bore no scar, he was acquitted. The latest relic of this inhuman process was to be found lingering on till nearly modern times in the trial of witches, but it began to die out in many countries in the mediæval age, and it is due to the influence of King David that it was discontinued, at least in its original form, in Scotland in his time.

One noble characteristic which was stamped upon the social life of the people belongs especially to Queen Margaret and all her sons: it is the impulse which they gave to chivalry in its best estate. It changed the whole tone of respect for womankind. In the semi-barbarism of the surroundings of the earlier kings that Christian gallantry which found its

high aim in the defence of the weak had no place. The Church was true to her vocation when she took under her fostering care the Order of Knighthood. As we recall the change it wrought, we cannot but rejoice that the profession was thus invested with her sanctifying influence. Henceforward the calling of the knight was held as sacred as that of the monk, and the novitiate of the one was assimilated to that of the other. In his "baptism of war" the knight-novice was attended by a godfather, and before him and the assembled priests was sworn "to maintain the right, to be loyal to all true knighthood, and to protect the poor from oppression." He foreswore all treason and injustice of whatever kind; and where woman needed his aid he promised to be always prompt and valiant, and the protection of her virtue was his first duty and highest privilege. When these oaths had been taken his sponsor struck him three times with the sword and gave him his commission: "In the name of God and S. Michael and our Lady, I dub thee knight," and the bells of the church at once rang out their sounds of joy and thanksgiving. This elevation of chivalry into a more religious atmosphere unquestionably wrought for the good of the country, and it was due to the Saxon Queen and her worthy sons.

And this brings us to the close of David's reign. Such was the progress he had made in transforming the Keltic Church that within fifty years its nationality had perished, even from Iona, its stronghold through seven centuries. In 1203 A.D. Reginald converted the

old Columban settlement into a Benedictine monastery, and "with all its churches, islands, and lands of the Western isles," it passed under the protection of other saints.

David died on May 24, 1153 A.D., and though he was never "canonised," yet by popular acclaim he has gained the title of "saint." With his death the more immediate descendants of Queen Margaret ceased to reign, but the Scottish people were loth to believe that their protection was withdrawn. More than a century after the last had been laid to rest in the church of Dunfermline, it was believed that there issued forth from its northern porch on the eve of the battle of Largs to meet the might of Norway five spirits clad in armour, and wearing regal crowns.¹ They were Malcolm and Margaret, with their three sons, going out, like the Twin gods of Rome or San Jago in Spain, to inspire by their presence, and protect their country from the hosts of the invader.²

¹ The vision was said to have been seen by Sir John Wemyss, a crippled soldier, who afterwards recovered the use of his limbs. Fordun, x. c. 15.

² "In other countries, S. George of England, bearing his red cross, and S. James, with a surcoat studded with the shells of Compostella, have been seen riding on the battle-fields of Spain against the Moors." *Scoti-Monasticon*, p. 39. For other illustrations, cf. Boece, xiv. c. 11.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SUBJECTION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH TO ROME.

Difficulties arising from the rival claims of York and Canterbury to consecrate Scottish bishops—Recourse to Rome—Introduction of a Papal Legate—England attempts to recover her ecclesiastical supremacy—The civil subjection of Scotland by the capture of William the Lion—Ecclesiastical subjection avoided by diplomacy—Scotland submits to a national interdict as a punishment for disobeying the Pope—The extent of the disabilities incurred—The penalty imposed a second time—Pope Honorius concedes to Scotland the right to summon Provincial Councils—The office of Conservator—S. Andrews made a Metropolitanical See—Provincial canons passed in the thirteenth century—The Mendicant Friars and their influence in favour of Rome—The acceptance of Bagimont's Roll a token of subjection to Rome.

ENGLAND had by this time become, in ecclesiastical matters, largely subject to Rome, and the assimilation of the Scottish to the English Church entailed sooner or later a like result for Scotland. The Archiepiscopal See of York was constantly asserting its supremacy, and at almost every fresh nomination to a bishopric north of the Tweed the claim to consecrate and invest with the episcopal ring and staff was contested by Canterbury, and whenever one or the other yielded it was only done "without prejudice to the due prerogatives of the province." At times the disputes were marked by the utmost vehemence, and Sees were left unfilled for years because neither side would give way. Indeed, in one memorable instance, the only possible

solution to be found was for the King of Scotland to give the ring, and for the pastoral staff to be laid upon the altar of the cathedral, and the newly-consecrated bishop to take it himself with his own hands. It was obviously impossible that such unseemly strife should be long endured without serious harm and loss to the Church. An acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Holy See afforded the only settlement of the difficulty, and it goes without saying that the Pope showed no reluctance to interpose as arbiter of the dispute.

Towards the middle of the twelfth century the Papal Legate becomes a familiar personage in all the graver proceedings of the Church of Scotland. It is he that summons and presides over its Ecclesiastical Councils, and it is from his hands that the bishops receive consecration.

England was unwilling to part with her asserted authority over Scotland, and made one determined effort to recover the power of exercising it. William the Lion, so called as the first who wore on his shield the red lion rampant, was surprised and taken prisoner by the English while fighting for the possession of Northumberland. His release was only effected after prolonged negotiations, and on terms of the deepest humiliation to his kingdom. By the Treaty of Falaise, made in December 1174 A.D., William bound himself to do homage to England for his dominions.¹

Nothing could have been more stringent than the conditions by which the subjugation of the State was

¹ Hoveden's "Chronicle," ii. 82.

secured. Five of the chief strongholds of Scotland—Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh—were garrisoned by English troops. It was intended to subjugate the Church with like stringency, but the interference of certain Scottish prelates, and their dexterous diplomacy, averted the humiliation. They succeeded in introducing into the treaty terms so ambiguously worded that little difficulty would be experienced in evading them and repudiating the subjection. It was agreed that the Church of Scotland should pay to England “that obedience which was due to her, in accordance with the practice under former kings.”

Two years had scarcely elapsed before the King of England attempted to enforce his authority. At the Council of Northampton in 1176 A.D. the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of both countries met for joint deliberation, and the Scottish bishops and dignitaries were called upon to acknowledge their subjection to the Metropolitans of England. There were present from Scotland the Bishops of S. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Galloway, Caithness, and Moray, together with a number of abbots, and they unanimously rejected the claim of obedience. The Primate of York appealed to ancient precedents in regard to the Sees of Glasgow and Galloway, but the Bishop of Glasgow maintained that under his predecessor his See had been officially designated “the special daughter of the Roman Church,”¹ which exempted him entirely from

¹ This designation is recognised in an official document addressed by the Pope to Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow. Cf. Hoveden’s “Chronicle,” ii. 91, 92.

English jurisdiction. This claim of the Northern province stirred the old jealousy of Canterbury, and the King resolved to refer the dispute to Rome, which led to the enforcement of Roman supremacy by a Papal letter.

Within a few years Scotland gave practical proof that she had finally resigned her ecclesiastical liberties into the hands of the Pope by submitting to all the humiliating practices of a national excommunication which he had pronounced upon the Church. On the death of Robert, Bishop of S. Andrews, in 1178 A.D., the Chapter elected John Scotus, a man of great learning and acknowledged piety, to fill the vacancy; but King William was resolved on the nomination of Hugh, one of the court chaplains, and he swore, "by the arm of S. James," that no one else should have the office. Rome was appealed to, and the Papal decision was adverse to the King, who retaliated by banishing the elected bishop and all his belongings from his dominions. It was a direct challenge of jurisdiction, and the Pope, without hesitation, laid the country under an interdict, and excommunicated the King.¹

It is very difficult for us, in an age of laxity, when all ecclesiastical discipline is in abeyance, to form any adequate conception of the consequences of such a measure. The public excommunication of an individual was common enough at this time, though

¹ Fordun's *Scotichron.*, vi. 36. The known character of the Pope enhances the boldness of the King, for it was his feet the great Emperor Frederick Barbarossa had kissed.

surrounded with circumstances of peculiar terror. The bishop who undertook to pass sentence, with twelve assisting priests, assembled in the chancel during the celebration of mass holding lighted torches in their hands, which they dashed to the ground amidst anathemas on the offender and the clanging of bells, and then trampled out the flames with an awful imprecation that the soul of the excommunicate in like manner might be extinguished in hell.

A Papal interdict was a similar sentence passed upon a nation. Its consequences were inconceivably terrible, paralysing the whole religious life of the people. The churches were closed, and all public worship was suspended ; the dying were deprived of the *viaticum* ; the dead were buried like dogs, without any funeral rite whatever ; marriages could only be celebrated in a graveyard, to impart a sense of the prevailing gloom even to the happiest event. There was only a single exception : dispensation was granted for the performance of sacred rites to the white monks.

Scotland had scarcely had time to realise what it was to incur a Papal anathema when the Pope died, and his successor in the Pontifical chair hastened to remove the censure. He even sent to King William "the golden rose," an honour rarely conferred,¹ for it was the highest token of good-will and affection ; and at the same time the privilege accorded to Glasgow was extended to the whole Scottish Church, which was

¹ The Pope used to carry this rose, which in its colours, gold and red, was supposed to symbolise the Royalty and Passion of Christ, in his hand on Mid-Lent Sunday, and then bestow it on some one as a mark of his highest favour.

designated "the special and favourite daughter of the Apostolic See."

Forty years later the nation submitted again under like penalties to have her sanctuaries closed and sacraments prohibited, but this time it was even more serious, for the religious disabilities lasted a whole year, from February 1217 A.D. to February 1218 A.D. No stronger evidence could be afforded that the Church had accepted in full the Papal supremacy.

It is true that about this time Scotland obtained a grant which appears to have lightened the yoke of subjection ; but whatever the alleviation, it was due to Roman concession, and did not really bespeak any recovery of independence. In the absence of a Metropolitan See the Church had no right to hold Provincial Councils, and as the Church grew the need of them for the regulation of ecclesiastical matters and especially the punishment of crime, became almost imperative. Hitherto they had been summoned directly by the Papal Legate, but not only was his presence at times inconvenient, it was even felt to be positively burdensome. Pope Honorius yielded in 1225 A.D. to the urgent entreaties of the clergy, and issued a bull granting permission without any legatine interposition "in the name and in virtue of the authority of the Apostolic See to hold Provincial Synods, consisting of bishops, abbots, priors, and proctors of cathedral Chapters, for the correction of abuses, the improvement of discipline, and the enforcement of decrees and canons of the General

Councils of the Church.”¹ One of the bishops was to be elected Conservator with full powers both of initiation and confirmation, to summon the Synod and enforce its decrees. This office lasted on for two centuries and a half, and was only superseded when S. Andrews was erected into a Metropolitan See in 1472 A.D. The general place of assembly for these Provincial Synods was Perth. Many such Synods were held during the thirteenth century, and a body of canons² fifty or sixty in number is extant containing the amalgamated results of numerous assemblies; they are highly important as affording an insight into the life and discipline of the Church at this period.

The following is a brief summary of the chief of them, arranged in the order of subjects:—

That the churches be built of stone—the nave at the expense of the parishioners, the chancel at that of the rector: that they be duly furnished with all that is requisite for reverent worship: that they be carefully preserved from profane uses, and that no secular court be held in them.

That a rector or vicar be appointed to the charge of every church: that a parsonage-house be built in its immediate neighbourhood: that the land be tithed for his sustenance, and that any attempt to defraud him of his tithes render the transgressor liable to excommunication: that clerical immunities from taxation and other imposts be strictly maintained.

¹ Robertson's *Statuta*, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 10–29.

That provision be made for preserving the sacred character of the clergy by forbidding them to engage in any secular trade or business, or to undertake the stewardship of property : that they be distinguished from the laity by their dress, not wearing a red, green, or striped habit, or one shorter than was befitting, and to have the proper tonsures.

That clerical misdemeanours be severely dealt with, in Ecclesiastical Courts : that the Papal decrees touching concubinage be in force, and no testamentary or other bequests to concubines or their children be accounted legal : that bishops or priests committing carnal sins with penitents should do penance for fifteen and twelve years respectively, and be deprived of their office if the sin became notorious.

One canon dealt with the question of indulgences ; it was decreed that the *Questionarius*, i.e., the man who granted them, should not visit any church more than once in the course of the year.

It is necessary to add that, although the above canons on clerical immorality were passed, the history of the times reveals no general laxity such as became an open scandal two centuries later, and led to their re-enactment with more stringent penalties.

In addition to the above Provincial Canons, those of an important Diocesan Synod at S. Andrews in 1242 A.D. have been preserved. Such of them that seem to supplement those already given are here added :—

That in the celebration of mass red wine be used, though the use of white did not invalidate the sacrament : that before the *Pax Domini* special prayers be

said for the King, Queen, bishops, and clergy, and that they be emphasised by the ringing of a bell: that the Host be not elevated till the priest had completed the words *Hoc est corpus meum*: that the Eucharist for the sick be attended with proper reverence, enclosed in a pyx, and covered with fine linen, and that the reserved Host be renewed every Sunday.

That baptism be only administered by a deacon in cases of necessity.

That marriages between persons unknown to the parish priest be prohibited, and that the triple publication of banns and the presence of lawful witnesses be obligatory.

That no priest hear the confession of a non-parishioner without the consent of his spiritual pastor, but that this may not be withheld should the counsel of a more discreet confessor be sought: that confessions of women be heard only in church, and not out of sight of the faithful.

That no money be required as a condition of entrance into a Religious Order.

These canons possess more than diocesan interest. S. Andrews was at this time the Primatial See, and we may fairly conclude that they would be widely, if not universally accepted.

Two events which happened about this time contributed largely to increase the influence of Rome over Scotland. The first was the introduction of the Mendicant Friars. Originating in the early years of the century, they had sprung into popular favour with surprising rapidity. No one, with perhaps the single

exception of S. Benedict, has done more in propagating the monastic system than S. Dominic and S. Francis. Both founded orders. S. Dominic's primary object was the maintenance of the faith and the overthrow of heresy. The success of his labours may be estimated in a measure by the fact that, when his credentials for canonisation were examined, it was found that he must have converted no less than 100,000 souls.

The main end of S. Francis may be best expressed in his own declaration: "Let us win the great by our humility and respect, and inferiors by preaching and example; but let one peculiar distinction be to have no privileges."

Both orders were passionately attached to the Roman See, and their introduction into Scotland in the reign of Alexander II. helped most materially to support its authority over the Church. The King was so carried away by their influence that he established no less than eight Dominican foundations¹—at Aberdeen, Ayr, Berwick, Elgin, Inverness, Montrose, Perth, and Stirling; and two Franciscan²—at Berwick and Roxburgh.

The other contemporaneous event was the imposition of what is familiarly called "Bagimont's Roll." In the year 1275 A.D. Baiamund de Vicci³ was commissioned by the Pope to collect tithes on all Scottish

¹ Spottiswoode's "Religious Houses," pp. 441-6. In addition to these they had other houses in Scotland: viz. in Cupar-Fife, Dundee, Dysart, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Haddington, Linlithgow, and Wigtown.

² Later Franciscan foundations were at Dundee, Dumfries, Inverkeithing, Douglas, and Haddington.

³ Robertson, *Statuta*, lxviii., has preserved three copies of the Roll. Cf. Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta*, cclviii. p. 104.

benefices for the relief of the Holy Land; and he insisted upon a new assessment, as the old had long ceased to represent the actual value. The clergy stubbornly resisted, and the Papal Nuncio was sent back to make known their grievance to the Pope, but the mission failed to secure the desired concession. The Pope was inexorable; their petition was peremptorily dismissed, and henceforward "Bagimont's Roll" was made the standard of valuation, and came to be regarded as a token of subjection to Rome.

CHAPTER IX.

AN UNEVENTFUL CENTURY IN THE CHURCH.

The death of Alexander III., a grave epoch in Scottish history—The Maid of Norway—Her untimely end—Scotland without a king—The loss of independence—The decline of the Church in Bruce's reign—Bishops lose their ecclesiastical character—Their reckless breach of faith—Bruce's repentance—His heart sent to the Holy Land—The completion of the Cathedral of St. Andrews—David, Bruce's son, an incompetent ruler—Devastations of the Wolf of Badenoch—The burning of Elgin Cathedral.

ALEXANDER III. was killed by a fall from his horse on March 16, 1285 A.D., and with his death the male royal line of succession terminated. It was an untoward event both for Church and State, for his influence during a long reign had been wholly for good, and he was deeply lamented by all classes—nobility, clergy, and commons. Fordun, the contemporary historian, has briefly summed up the characteristic blessings of his reign: "The Church flourished; her priests were treated with reverence; vice was openly discouraged; cunning and treachery were trampled underfoot; injury and wrong ceased; and the sovereignty of virtue, truth, and justice was upheld throughout the land."

The heir to the crown was a sickly infant, daughter of the Norwegian king, the first female to inherit the kingdom. It creates no surprise to hear that Edward, King of England, availed himself of the prevailing

fears and uneasiness to further his ambitious project for complete annexation. He at once proposed a marriage between "the Maid of Norway," as the young Queen was called, and the Prince of Wales; but her premature death on her voyage to Scotland foiled his scheme.

Scotland was now not only without a king but with no undoubted heir, and a host of competitors for the Crown at once rose up. No solution of their respective claims seemed possible but to submit them to the arbitrament of the King of England. It was followed by a succession of troubles. John de Baliol was chosen,¹ and consented (as did also his rival, Bruce) to do homage to the arbiter for his kingdom. The Great Seal of Scotland was broken in pieces; the cherished relic of antiquity, the stone of Scone, on which so many kings had been crowned, was carried away to England; war broke out with England, and fortress after fortress was compelled to surrender. Scotland saw her sovereign stript of his regal robes, and submitting to a humiliating penance at the bidding of his liege lord. The defeat of Falkirk, and the execution of the patriot Wallace, gave the finishing blow, and robbed the country of that independence which but a few years before had seemed so firmly established.

In the heroic struggle for its recovery in which Robert the Bruce engaged, we find the Church taking

¹ The final choice lay between him and Robert Bruce, who was really the nearer heir, being the son of the second daughter of King William's brother, while he was grandson of the eldest daughter.

an important but unworthy part. Full of patriotism and chivalry as he was, and deserving of all honour for the victory so gallantly achieved on the field of Bannockburn,¹ the student of history cannot close his eyes to the fact that the decline of the Church and the degeneration of public morals dates its beginning from Bruce's reign. The murder of the Red Comyn² and its terrible sacrilege called for the severest rebuke, but its perpetrator gained instead an easy absolution from Bishop Wishart, who crowned him. Lamberton, Bishop of Glasgow, laid aside ecclesiastical for political duties, and entered into a league with Bruce to fight on his side. Other bishops made no scruple of exchanging the Church and spiritual ministrations for the camp and battlefield, and, what was infinitely worse, having pledged their inviolable allegiance to the King of England, without any apparent compunction armed their retainers and fought against him. Only once throughout the whole campaign do we read of the presence of ecclesiastics in any other than a military capacity: it was when Maurice, the Abbot of Inchaffray, and afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, cele-

¹ It seems but fair to call attention to the dispute that has existed about the claims of Edward to be lord paramount over Scotland, which are not admitted here. No one has written more strongly than the late Historiographer-Royal, Burton, in his "History of Scotland;" but Lingard is equally strong on the other side; so are Lord Lindsay and Professor Freeman. It is certainly remarkable how both Bruce and Baliol admitted Edward's claim. Freeman said that the movement which culminated in Bannockburn was "a rebellion"; and there are modern Scotsmen even who go so far as to regret that Edward did not win. It would occupy too much space to discuss the question, but in deference to a critic I have called attention to the difference of opinion.

² He stabbed him to the heart in the Minorite Church at Dumfries, February 10, 1306.

brated Mass before the troops at Bannockburn, and barefooted carried the cross with the bones of S. Fillan along the Scottish lines, while he exhorted the soldiers to sacrifice their lives with courage for the freedom of their country.¹ But that which will always stand out in history as the characteristic of the leaders of the Church at this critical time is their ignoble breach of faith. It is one redeeming feature that there were some, at least, who were jealous of her honour, and invoked the authority of the Pope to depose the transgressors.

One act of Bruce before he died is worthy of notice, for it witnesses at least to a late repentance for a crime which stained an honoured name—the treacherous murder of his rival to the throne. In a moment of keen contrition he had vowed as some atonement for his sin that he would undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but the troubles and burdens of a distracted kingdom left him no time, even if he had had the will, to fulfil his promise; and now, as he was lying on the bed of death, his conscience smote him, and calling for a trusted knight, Lord James Douglas, he adjured him by his long-tried love that he would carry his heart and lay it in the sepulchre of his Lord at Jerusalem. In execution of his oath the knight, in company with a troop of soldiers, started on his errand, but as they passed through Spain they were induced to join in a battle against the Moors. Finding himself in the direst straits, with death staring him in the face, he determined upon a desperate effort; and,

¹ *Scoti-Monasticon*, p. 41.

throwing the casket with its sacred treasure before him into the midst of the foe, he dashed into the fray with the inspiring shout, "On, noble heart, where Bruce leads, Douglas follows or dies." After the battle his body and the casket were found lying side by side.¹

There is also one—if only one—memorable event in the Church associated with his reign: it was the completion of the building of the cathedral of the Primatial See of S. Andrews. Its importance was marked by a consecration of almost unparalleled pomp and circumstance in Scotland. All the most distinguished in Church and State were present: on the one side no less than seven bishops and fifteen abbots, on the other the King himself and well-nigh all the flower of his nobility.

Robert had one son, David, who was crowned at Scone on Nov. 24, 1331 A.D., but being then only a child, he waited for ten years to take possession of his kingdom. Devoid of religious principle, he proved utterly incompetent to rule; and with no support from the Crown the Church exercised but little influence, and the demoralisation of the people increased with fearful rapidity. No worse picture was ever drawn than that which is found of the generation that followed in the *Chronicles of Moray*: "There was no law in Scotland, but the great and rich oppressed the poor, and the whole kingdom became a den of thieves. Bloodshed, robberies, incendiaries, and other crimes

¹ Tytler, "*Hist. of Scotland*," i. 158, quotes the full account as taken from Froissart.

passed unpunished, and outlawed justice was banished from the realm."

It was in this condition of anarchy and confusion that "the Wolf of Badenoch" spread terror in every direction by the devastations he committed.¹ Things sacred and profane were involved in the common ruin: the town of Elgin was reduced to ashes, and in the conflagration the splendid cathedral, "the pride of the land, the delight of wayfarers and strangers, a praise and boast among foreign nations," with its almost unrivalled treasures, was burnt to the ground. It was a fitting close to a period in which the Church had been falling deeper and deeper from her high position, and it roused her to a renewal of her strength and influence.

¹ This was Buchan, a brother of King Robert III. He afterwards did penance for this crime on his bare knees in the Black Friars Church at Perth clothed in sackcloth. Bishop Trail of S. Andrews gave him absolution in the presence of the King by command of the Pope. Theiner's *Monumenta*, p. 240; *Scoti-Monasticon*, p. 44.

CHAPTER X.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

The absence of provision for education in Scotland before the fifteenth century—The ignorance of the laity—Scottish College in Paris—Foundation of a University at S. Andrews—Endowment of S. Salvator's College—Pope Nicholas promotes the foundation of a University at Glasgow—William Elphinstone—Introduces the art of printing—His reputation for goodness—Founder of the university of Aberdeen—Collegiate churches—S. Andrews made an Archiepiscopal See—The suffragan Sees—The charge resisted both in England and Scotland—Glasgow made an Archbishopric.

THE preceding century had been distinguished by no definite acts of ecclesiastical development, but that which followed witnessed the establishment of three great educational institutions, closely associated with the Church, and destined to affect her welfare for many generations. These were the universities of S. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. Hitherto little advance had been made in education, and that only of the most elementary kind. There had been schools under the superintendence of the clergy in the chief towns, and in the monasteries some of the monks had devoted themselves to instructing children, and from these the sons of the higher classes had received what was somewhat anomalously designated their education; but we may judge of the misnomer from the startling declaration so often repeated by historians,

that during the long period from the accession of Alexander III. to the death of David II. it was impossible to produce a single instance of a Scottish baron being able to sign his own name.

Young men, whose natural bent inclined them to literary pursuits, were compelled to seek their education in foreign lands, and it was their frequent resort to France for this purpose that led to the foundation of a Scottish college in Paris by a Bishop of Moray at the beginning of the fourteenth century. No sooner was this opened than the sons of the nobility flocked to it from every part of Scotland. Notwithstanding its popularity, eighty years were allowed to elapse before anything was done to provide a similar education at home. At last, in 1410 A.D., it was determined, mainly at the instigation of Bishop Wardlaw, to found a university at S. Andrews. For the first few years of its existence its work was carried on in an informal manner, till it took a recognised position through the issue of a bull of confirmation by the Pope. The reception of this in February 1413 A.D. was made an occasion of great rejoicing. No less than four hundred clergy, including the highest dignitaries of the Church, assembled for a public Service of Thanksgiving and full Pontifical Mass; and the scene as the immense throng of bishops, abbots, priors, canons, and minor orders, clothed in their most festal vestments, prostrated themselves in adoring gratitude before the High Altar of the Primatial Church, has rarely been surpassed in ritual splendour.

At first no public buildings were erected. Profes-

sors gave their lectures wherever they were able to find accommodation, and the students who attended were lodged in private houses in the city ; but it was not long before an important development took place. Kennedy, the Primate, one of the most learned, pious, and munificent prelates of the Scottish Church, and hardly less distinguished as a statesman, built and endowed with large revenues S. Salvator's College. No restriction in favour of sacred learning was imposed, but an equal privilege was granted of conferring degrees in arts and sciences ; but it is clear that its primary object was that it should become a handmaid of the Church, for there was a statutable provision that it should be presided over by a Master in Theology, aided by four teachers in priest's orders.

The advantages conferred by S. Andrews led to the speedy foundation of a second university. Pope Nicholas was a great patron of learning, and he used his influence with Bishop Turnbull of Glasgow to establish a university in that city ; and in this again, though arts and sciences received ample encouragement, theology was made the predominant faculty. In its foundation charter its objects are thus enumerated : "That therein the Catholic faith may abound, the simple may be instructed, that justice may be taught and reason flourish, and the minds of men be enlightened and enlarged." It was formally inaugurated in 1450 A.D., and three years later received from King James II. all the privileges and prerogatives, together with royal protection and legal exemption from imposts and taxes, which were enjoyed by the sister univer-

sity of S. Andrews. For its endowments and buildings, however, it had still to wait, for the university, it has been generally said, came into the world naked as any new-born babe.

Though it was slow in gaining popularity, it left in its very infancy a lasting mark for good upon the Church. Almost the first student to matriculate was William Elphinstone, who has earned the reputation of being the most saintly in the long line of Scottish bishops. He lived in times when the episcopal office was fast becoming secularised ; when piety was no longer a characteristic feature of the order. He conferred a great boon upon the literature of Scotland by introducing the art of printing ; but it is indicative of the religious aim of his life that its firstfruits were sacred works—"The Aberdeen Breviary" and "The Legends of the Old Scottish Saints." Living as he did, and preserving such a high standard in degenerate times, he deserves to have his biography held up to admiration. It has been written in sterling language by Hector Boecius : "If," he says, "we account any man worthy of immortality for his virtue or anything better than virtue, by which youth passes uncorrupted, manhood famous, and age without blame, and every station of life is reached by modesty, piety, integrity, and sanctity, that man was William Elphinstone, who, from his earliest to his latest years, devoted himself to virtue. An impure word was to him impurity itself. He rejoiced in the frequent commemoration of Christ's Passion, and on the eve of Good Friday he clothed himself in sackcloth, and

spent the night in prayer and fasting, wholly without sleep. The name of Jesus was always in his thoughts by night and by day, always in his mouth whether sleeping or waking. Such was his feeling for the poor and afflicted that he heard and relieved their distress with tears of compassion."

His public benefactions were greater even than his private charity. The chief of them was the foundation of a third university. Education in the North of Scotland was at its very lowest ebb ; the whole population, of every class and degree, was rude and unlettered ; the Bishop experienced the greatest difficulty in finding men who were fit to preach God's Word and minister the sacraments. Bishop Elphinstone, in his earlier years, had seen the benefit of academical teaching in his native city of Glasgow, and he determined on his nomination to the See of Aberdeen to provide for the Northern Church the same advantages as were enjoyed in the South. In 1494 A.D. he obtained from the Pope a bull for the creation of a university at Aberdeen, for the study of theology, arts, law, and medicine, and it was confirmed by royal charter three years later. The introduction of the last faculty into the academical course marks a distinct epoch, for hitherto in Scotland the art of healing had been practised only by untrained medicine-men, barbers, and women with little knowledge beyond a blind belief in their own nostrums.

The university was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the control of it in all its departments was placed in the hands of a Principal and two masters of arts,

all in holy orders. Thus it will be seen that in all the universities theology was enthroned as the "queen of the sciences," and the highest interests of the Church were largely promoted.

Edinburgh had no university till after the Revolution of 1560 A.D., and it marks the change which had passed over public opinion to find the Professor of Humanity, not Theology, installed in the highest chair.

There is another institution for the encouragement of education, though not as its primary object, which was largely developed during this century, viz., the Collegiate Church. The universities owed their existence to the liberality of the clergy, these foundations to that of the laity. The declining zeal of the monks, and the growing abuses of monastic patronage, led them to seek for another outlet for their munificence. Patrick, Earl of March, had founded a Collegiate Church at Dunbar in 1342 A.D. for the twofold purpose of maintaining a high standard of Divine worship, and promoting the education of the young. It consisted of a dean or provost, an archpriest, and eighteen prebendaries or canons. It was upwards of fifty years before his example was followed, but at the beginning of this century the institution suddenly sprang into favour, and no less than forty were founded between 1400 A.D. and the beginning of the Reformation. The most important were at S. Andrews, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dunbar, Linlithgow, Roslin, and Stirling.

There is yet one foundation, not associated with

education, but of the greatest moment to the Church, which marks the fifteenth century. Scotland had no Archiepiscopal See of its own, and the Archbishops of York and Canterbury had claimed to exercise the prerogatives of Metropolitan over the Scottish Church. Their jurisdiction was strongly resisted, and resistance caused most serious inconvenience, for though jealous of foreign interference, neither King nor bishops could dispense with Archiepiscopal services. At last, in their hatred of England, they threw themselves into the arms of Rome, and acknowledged Papal supremacy; but though this sufficed for purposes of consecration, the great distance from the seat of authority in matters of appeal, and countless other questions of minor importance, placed the Scottish Church at much disadvantage. When Bishop Kennedy died, his half-brother, Patrick Graham, a son of Lord Graham, and nearly related to the King, was nominated to the See of S. Andrews, and during his visit to Rome for confirmation in his See, he persuaded the Pope to transfer to himself that part of his jurisdiction which belonged to him as Metropolitan. The only way to effect this was by erecting S. Andrews to the dignity of an Archiepiscopal See; a Papal bull was passed in 1442 A.D. with this object, and Kennedy received the Pall and Cross as its first Metropolitan occupant. Twelve Sees were named in the bull as suffragans, viz., Glasgow, Galloway, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Brechin, Dunblane, Caithness, Argyle, the Isles, and Orkney; and certain Collegiate churches, hitherto exempted from episcopal

authority, were placed under the Archbishop. The boon for which he had striven so strenuously was far from being accepted with the gratitude he looked for. In England, the note of resistance was at once struck by the Archbishop of York; and it was taken up in the extreme north by the Norwegian Bishop of Drontheim, who refused to be deprived of his jurisdiction over the Sees of Orkney and the Isles. He was in prison at the time on a charge of high treason, but he indited from his cell a vehement protest against the enactment. The opposition did not end here, for the whole of the Scotch episcopate joined in the resistance; and even the Archbishop's own clergy withheld their support. Then the King was prejudiced against him on the grounds that the royal consent had not been obtained. At last the general antagonism culminated in a citation to the Archbishop to appear at Edinburgh and make answer for his conduct. Charges were brought against him for schism, simony, and even heresy; and popular feeling was so adverse, that the trial ended in his being condemned. He was thrown into prison in the castle of Lochleven, where he died.

It is a strange satire on the justice of the opposition that Shevez, his bitterest antagonist, was elected in his place, and assumed without hesitation or any show of resistance all the metropolitical prerogatives which had been so obstinately denied to his predecessor. He became in Scotland what the Archbishop of Canterbury was in England, save that, for a time at least, he had no Archbishop of York to divide the

dignity. But it was not for long ; the King grew jealous that even in spiritual matters there should be anything like monarchical jurisdiction outside of himself, and he pleaded with the Pope the wisdom of following the pattern of England, where a division of the highest authority had worked advantageously. "It would redound," he was sure, "to the honour and dignity of the realm if, with the consent of the Sacred College, he raised the Church of Glasgow to enjoy all the privileges of that of York, the Church of S. Andrews being of similar creation to that of Canterbury." The Pope yielded to his importunities, and issued a bull in 1492 A.D. constituting Glasgow an Archiepiscopal See with jurisdiction over the four suffragan Sees of Galloway, Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Argyle. The history of feuds and jealousies stirred by this division of authority, and long continued, makes it more than doubtful whether the assimilation to England in this respect was either wise or beneficial.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DECLINING INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH.

The abuse of ecclesiastical patronage—Evils arising from the Papal right of confirmation—Legal enactments to stop visits to Rome—Laxity of discipline in religious houses—Intrigues of disaffected nobles—Bishop Kennedy's influence in Church and State—His advice to the King in dealing with the seditious nobles—James III. promoted a shameless traffic in benefices—James IV. outdoes his predecessor by his nepotism—Two glaring examples of it—His supposed penitence—The concubinage of the Bishop—General immorality of the clergy—Synod of S. Andrews—Attempt to grapple with the existing evils—Canons passed—Canons of Edinburgh indorsing and strengthening the previous ones—Opposition of the nobles to the King and clergy—Jealous of clerical intrusion into state offices and interference with their feudal jurisdiction—The Court of Justice.

A VARIETY of causes began to operate in the beginning of the fifteenth century to the serious detriment of the Church's influence. Foremost among them was the rise of mercenary traffic and simony in dispensing ecclesiastical offices. Patronage hitherto had been exercised on the whole without any corrupt practice, certainly with no overt scandal, either in regard to the higher dignities or the ordinary benefices. By canon law and proscriptive right cathedral Chapters elected bishops, and monks their abbots, while the nomination to livings was vested in the hands of the great landowners, bishops, and religious houses. The confirmation of the Pope was requisite for the more

important posts, and it was in connection with this that the door for corruption was first opened. The privilege came to be used by him as a lucrative means of profit, and not only were exorbitant fees exacted, but the Papal ratification was at times granted or withheld according to the amount of money offered by the nominee.

Legal enactments passed by James I. point unmistakably to this conclusion. It was to stop the visits made by ecclesiastics to the Papal court for the purpose of ingratiating themselves by bribes and presents that it was ordered that if any clerk wished to go beyond the seas, he must first satisfy his ordinary that his motives were pure and honest, and take an oath that he would not be guilty of *barratry*, *i.e.*, the purchase of a benefice for money. It was further enacted to check the self-same practice, that no one should leave the country with a large sum of money in his possession.

A second evil was a growing laxity of discipline in the religious houses. The King realised the necessity of checking it at once, lest the whole system should be undermined by corruption; if their fundamental principle were sacrificed, sooner or later they must inevitably fall to pieces. Convinced of the greatness of the impending danger, he addressed a stringent remonstrance to all the abbots and priors of the Benedictine and Augustinian monasteries, "beseeching them in the bowels of the Lord Jesus Christ, to shake off their torpor and sloth, and set themselves to work to restore their fallen discipline

and rekindle their decaying fervour, that so they might save their houses from the ruin that menaced them."

There was yet another danger which began about this time to threaten the well-being of the Church, and ultimately proved one of the most potent factors in its overthrow, that is, the rising ambition and factious intrigues of discontented nobles. The King determined vigorously to meet the danger, and had he lived he might possibly have succeeded in averting it; but his energetic rule and all his purposed reforms were suddenly cut short by the hand of an assassin. He fell pierced by no less than sixteen wounds on February 20, 1437 A.D.

In the long minority of his successor, the evils, which he had only had time to restrain, broke out afresh, and when the young king assumed the reins of government he was confronted by them in full force and activity. Aided by Bishop Kennedy, who was not only an efficient ecclesiastic, but possessed also of remarkable statesmanlike qualities, he determined to carry out his father's attempted reforms. He raised the Bishop at once to the Chancellorship of the kingdom; and in all his government and administration eagerly sought and was guided by his advice. One episode will illustrate the practical wisdom of his counsellor; it was at that crisis when the opposition of the nobles was culminating in "the Douglas conspiracy." The King hearing that his enemies had taken up arms, hastened to S. Andrews, where the Chancellor resided in the episcopal palace, and asked

in despair if he could suggest any means for crushing the rebellion. The Bishop, who never failed in critical times to seek the guidance of Almighty God, led him first into the chapel, and knelt down to pray; and then taking him to his study, put into his hands a bundle of arrows tied firmly together, and bade him break them in twain. After he had made many vigorous but unsuccessful attempts, the Bishop proceeded to untie the bundle and break the arrows in pieces, one by one. "This, sir," he said, "is the way that you must deal with your barons." The advice was taken; the seditious nobles were approached by secret negotiations, and one after another withdrawn from the banner of their chieftain, till at last Douglas was left a solitary rebel to meet the vengeance of the King.

Kennedy was no less influential and effective in the discharge of his episcopal duties. Amidst all the pressure of State cares he was able to fulfil to the letter his consecration vows. Four times a year he is said to have visited every church in his diocese, and he made residence obligatory upon every parish priest, and by a most watchful oversight secured a proper fulfilment of their spiritual duties. History testifies to the hold he laid upon the affections of the nation, for it is recorded that "his death was deeply deplored by all good men, and the country wept for him as for a public parent." It was, however, only a temporary check in the process of degeneration; and as soon as his restraining hand was withdrawn, the floodgates of corruption opened wider than before.

James III. had none of the good qualities of his predecessors, and in his reign the shameless traffic in ecclesiastical patronage was much encouraged, and it received its greatest impulse from his own action. The Abbotship of Dunfermline fell vacant. By constitutional right it belonged to the monks to fill it up, but the King, in consideration of a large bribe, induced the Pope to accept his own nomination. Such a flagrant act of illegality and corruption in the highest quarters had a most disastrous effect, and it soon came to pass "that bishoprics, abbacies, priories, and livings were openly sold by the King and his favourites, and men of worthless character, and even laymen, were intruded into the office of the ministry."

The nobles and other lay-patrons were quick to imitate the example of the King and his courtiers; they sold their nominations for money, or what was even worse, thrust into benefices members of their family who neither by character nor training had any qualification for the sacred office.

When James IV. succeeded to the throne in 1488 A.D. there was no abatement of this crying evil; he even outdid his father, for he procured the nomination of his brother James, Duke of Ross, to the Archbishopric of S. Andrews, in open violation of all canon law, for the restriction as to age was peremptorily set aside at the bidding of the sovereign, and he was allowed to enter upon his office, though he was only twenty-one. There is, it is true, some reason to doubt whether his actual consecration was not delayed, but it would certainly have seemed an aggravation of the

injustice to grant him metropolitan jurisdiction before he was consecrated; and no one disputes that he did exercise it. He died prematurely a few years later, but not till he had been foisted into the abbacies of Arbroath and Dunfermline, and raised to the Chancellorship.

This nefarious appointment to the highest ecclesiastical dignity was succeeded by another more glaring enormity. The King first kept the Primatial See vacant for six years, sequestrating its revenues for the royal exchequer, and then with the most unblushing shamelessness, he nominated to the archbishopric Alexander Stewart, his own illegitimate son, who was then a boy only sixteen years of age. It is urged in mitigation that he took steps to provide by his education and training that he should qualify himself for the position; and if Erasmus, under whom he was sent to study, may be relied upon, he was by no means destitute either of talent or moral virtues. But the fact that such an appointment could have been thought of, still more that it could have been tolerated, is indisputable proof of the secularisation which had so largely invaded the province of the Church. This boy-archbishop resembled his predecessor in the rapidity with which he accumulated in his own person many of the highest offices, and he resembled him also in his short-lived enjoyment of them. Almost before he had attained his majority he fell in 1513 A.D., fighting by his father's side, on the fatal field of Flodden.

James IV. has often been held up to admiration for the sincerity of his penitence and his devotion

to religious exercises. In contrition for treason and rebellion against his father, he accepted a galling penance imposed by the Pope, and to the day of his death carried an iron chain wound about his body. He also undertook frequent pilgrimages to various shrines to express his gratitude for Divine blessings. The Pope even bestowed upon him the title of "Protector of the Faith," but it is very difficult to reconcile his public and private conduct, and the impartial critic is bound to describe him as one who subordinated the highest interests of the Church to considerations of personal and family ambition. His unprincipled nepotism in the exercise of royal patronage and the encouragement it gave to his subjects to follow in his steps, contributed largely to hasten the Church's downfall.

The appointment of bishops regardless of religious qualifications rapidly bore its baneful fruit, and it was not long before grave immorality invaded the ranks of the spiritual hierarchy. The highest ecclesiastical rulers lived in open concubinage, and, "drawing foul ensamples" from those above them, "the inferior clergy" became a notorious scandal. The extent to which the standard of purity and virtue was lowered amongst clerical orders may be gathered from the synodical decrees passed at this time. We have read canons of a similar kind in earlier Synods, but the later ones differ widely in the severity of their provisions and point to a totally altered condition of morality. There they were intended as safeguards for the avoidance of possible evils, here they were vehe-

ment protests against existing crime. We can only interpret them rightly by the light of contemporary history, and this leaves no manner of doubt of the distinction to be drawn.

There were amidst all this widespread corruption some who tried their utmost to stem the tide, but immorality had come in like a flood and isolated efforts proved powerless to drive it back. Archbishop Foreman called a Synod at S. Andrews,¹ and the statutes that were passed between 1514 and 1521 A.D., while they throw a lurid light on the condition of the clergy, witness to a determined effort to grapple with the evil.

Unhappily for the Church his life was prematurely cut short before he had had time to enforce their execution. The preliminary injunction laid upon the first of these assemblies is deeply significant. It seems almost incredible to us that it should have been deemed necessary to call upon the abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, and others assembled in Synod to lay aside all levity and unseemly conduct, and to behave with reverence befitting the gravity of their deliberations; but so it was.

The first evil attacked was clerical non-residence, and it was enacted that since the Archbishop in his desire to temper mercy with justice had dealt leniently with delinquents to no purpose, henceforward canonical laws would be rigidly enforced, and any parish priest neglecting to reside upon his benefice would at once be mulcted in a fourth part of his income.

Another abuse which called for correction was care-

¹ Robertson's *Statuta*, cclxx.-cclxxxv.

lessness in regard to the celebration of marriages. In Scotland there had been a long-established custom by which parties were publicly espoused in the presence of witnesses, and with the benediction of the priest. It had been largely neglected, and clandestine espousals had become general; illicit intercourse also between the espoused previous to the solemnisation of the marriage rite was suffered by the clergy to pass unrebuked. Yet further, they had disregarded the legal obligation for three publications of the banns, and the prohibition of marriages at particular seasons. Much licence and sin sprang from this carelessness, and the sanctity of marriage had greatly suffered. The Synod imposed the severe penalty of suspension for any future infringement.

Another evil of a kindred nature, but far exceeding it in gravity, was clerical concubinage. The synodical decrees may speak for themselves; they begin by saying "that it must be put down with a strong hand; those priests who, after a third warning, do not put away their concubines, are to be deprived for ever of the cure of souls; the rite of purification after childbirth is not to be administered to the concubines of the clergy unless with due security that they will in future withdraw altogether from the illicit union."

In 1549 A.D. another Provincial Council, held at Edinburgh, endorsed the previous canons, and added a number of provisions, which gave the clearest proof that the evils, so far from being remedied, were growing in intensity. It was a Council composed of the highest ecclesiastics, who gathered in greater numbers

than ever before in Scotland. It would seem from the severity of their language that they were determined to eradicate the corruption which was eating out the life of the Church. The very preamble of their resolutions declared that the root of all the mischief was the ignorance, luxury, and grievous immorality of the clergy in every rank and degree. In the following enactments they pointed to the existence of yet further evils than those already noticed: the clergy were forbidden to keep their illegitimate children in their houses, to promote them to livings, or enrich them with the revenues of the Church. Bishops were not to retain in their service gamblers, fornicators, drunkards, blasphemers, or profane swearers, "since the bad conduct of the household brings disgrace on its master": spiritual rulers were to avoid luxurious living and keep a frugal table, that they might not scandalise the laity by their excess.

Abbots and priors were bidden to reform monastic discipline, and raise the standard of morality, which had fallen so low that it called forth the reproaches of the people. Notorious crimes were to be punished, and those that were in authority must take an oath that they would not hush them up for bribes, but administer justice faithfully.

The ordinaries were enjoined to raise the qualifications of the preachers; to preach themselves at least four times in the year, and to fit themselves for the office by study; and to appoint men to expound the Scriptures, to catechise the young, and to interpret the Bible according to the sense of the Catholic Church; and lastly, all who had the cure of souls, of whatever de-

gree, were earnestly exhorted to reform their lives that they might cease to be a public scandal, and no more give the enemies of the Church occasion to blaspheme.

It fills one with shame to realise that such statutes should ever have found a place in a sacred Synod of Christ's Church ; it certainly mitigates, though nothing can ever justify, the conduct of those who proceeded to extirpate the office of her spiritual rulers rather than reform and correct their lives.

Besides the two great evils of a spiritual kind which we have been considering, viz., mercenary traffic in ecclesiastical patronage and clerical neglect and immorality, there was yet a third, but though of a secular kind it operated with an ever-increasing force to overthrow the Church. It was the conduct of the discontented nobles. Some of the most powerful entered into an active oligarchical faction, making it a permanent obligation on all who joined to thwart in every possible way both the King and the clergy who allied themselves with him. They murdered James I. and III. with their own hands ; they rebelled against James II. ; they imprisoned James V., and by treachery and disaffection inflicted upon his arms the disgrace at Solway Moss, from which he died of a broken heart. They confined and deposed Mary, and leagued with English sovereigns to sacrifice the independence which had been won by the life-blood of Scottish patriots, and they strove openly and in secret to subvert the Church which their Queen was pledged to uphold.

Their animosity against the clergy was embittered more especially in two ways ; first, by their intrusion into

the civil offices of emolument and influence all through the Stuart dynasty. Ecclesiastics filled almost every high position of state. In James V.'s reign, for example, the Archbishop of Glasgow was Chancellor, the Bishop of Dunkeld Privy Seal, and the Abbot of Holyrood Treasurer. Secondly, they were inflamed against them by the supersession of their feudal authority and jurisdiction through clerical influence. It is, at least ideally, the high prerogative of the Church to shield the poor from tyranny and wrong. Before the Stuarts each baron had the privilege of holding his own court, and all his retainers were amenable to it; they had, it is true, an appeal to the King or Privy Council, but so many obstacles were interposed through intimidation and expense, that practically they had no alternative but submission, no matter how unjust the sentence might be. The Archbishop of Glasgow recognised the oppressiveness of their condition, and instigated the King to introduce a radical change. A new tribunal, called the Court of Justice,¹ was instituted, consisting of fourteen judges, spiritual and lay in equal numbers, but with an ecclesiastic with large controlling powers as president. The disaffected nobles resisted the measure with the fiercest opposition, but without any success. The loss of their ancient power, and the transfer of it to a court in which the spiritual element predominated, intensified their previous hatred of the clergy. They felt that their jurisdiction had been paralysed, and a

¹ It was confirmed by the Pope, and Abbot Mylne of Cambuskenneth was appointed first President. This appointment is commemorated by a painting in the Parliament House at Edinburgh. Bellesheim's "*History of the Catholic Church*," ii. 139.

spirit of vengeance urged them on to compass the overthrow of the Church. Mr. Buckle has recognised very clearly what an important factor their enmity was in the revolutionary changes that followed, and he gauges their motives aright when he boldly asserts that "they hardly cared what heresy they embraced so long as they damaged the Church." We shall see hereafter how, by wicked means, they achieved the murder of the only man who could have successfully withstood them, and then by a mercenary and unpatriotic league with the enemies of their country completed the Church's downfall.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FIRST MUTTERINGS OF THE APPROACHING STORM.

The introduction of Wycliffe's doctrines into Scotland—His peculiar tenets—Resby, a Wycliffite, begins to preach and is arrested—Burnt at the stake—Inroad of Lollardism—Paul Crawar—His heretical views—Condemned to be burnt—The Lollards of Kyle—Their trial and acquittal—The teaching of Luther—Its spread through the preaching of Patrick Hamilton—Condemned to death—His execution hurried on through fear of a royal pardon—The spread of heresy through popular sympathy with his sufferings—Stringent measures to suppress it—Frequent prosecutions—David Beaton, Archbishop of S. Andrews—Sir John Borthwick arraigned—Battle of Solway Moss—Scotch nobles taken prisoners—Their promise of support to Henry VIII.—Conspiracy to assassinate Beaton—Henry's complicity—George Wishart's inflammatory preaching—His death—His predictions that Cardinal Beaton would soon follow—His part in the conspiracy—Beaton's assassination—A great encouragement to the Protestant nobles.

THE opening of the fifteenth century heard the first note of discord in the Scottish branch of the Catholic Church. It was struck by a disciple of Wycliffe. "The morning star of the Reformation," as he has been called by his admirers, had just set at a time most favourable for the propagation of his doctrines. The great schism of the Latin Church, with its rival Popes at Rome and Avignon, and all the vast evils that were associated with it, lent a tremendous weight to the Reformer's arguments against Papal authority. It must have been extremely difficult to recognise a real

Vicar of Christ amidst the contending factions by which the Church was rent. Wycliffe's fundamental doctrine was that the Pope was Antichrist; his second main proposition was a denial of the prevailing view of Christ's Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, commonly called Transubstantiation; and a third was the inconsistency of the growing wealth and worldliness of the great ecclesiastics with Apostolic simplicity.

The first and last acquired a peculiar significance from the election of John XXIII. to the Papal chair, for his profligacy was notorious, and crimes of an infamous nature were laid to his charge.

When Wycliffe died in 1384 A.D., his disciples took up his cause with vigour, and succeeded in propagating his tenets more widely and effectually than their master had been able to do. Two Synods were called in London to suppress the heresy, and it was proscription at home that led Resby, one of the most enthusiastic of the new school, to cross the border and preach in Scotland. His seditious teaching quickly excited the jealousy of the spiritual rulers of the Church, and he was arraigned before a council of the clergy to answer for his conduct. It was presided over by Lawrence of Lindores, a learned theologian, holding a Papal commission in the country, as "inquisitor of heretical pravity." He was impeached upon no less than forty charges, but only those which reflected upon the authority and character of the Pope have come down to us.

Lawrence proved much too subtle a disputant for the accused, and he was confuted at every point.

Refusing to recant his errors he was condemned to be burnt. There is no trace of the law *de heretico comburendo* in the Statute-book of Scotland at this time, but it had been passed in England a few years before, and the Council did not scruple to put it in force. He was brought to the stake at Perth in 1407 A.D., and all his heretical writings were thrown into the flames. Resby was the first victim of persecution for religious opinions in Scotland, and he is generally designated "the protomartyr of the Reformation."

It is almost needless to say that the action of the clergy produced results the very opposite of what they expected. The proscribed doctrines spread with such rapidity that within a few years prohibitory legislation was deemed necessary; every master of arts in the university was required to take oath that he would use all his energies to protect the Church from the heretical influence of the Lollards. This action of the Church was indorsed a few years later by parliamentary enactment; but before another decade had passed, Lollardism, which was now the recognised designation of Wycliffe's doctrines, broke out in an aggravated form. The Council of Constance in 1414 A.D. had condemned and burnt John Huss, an active propagator of the new heresy. His principles were carried from Switzerland into Bohemia, and took complete hold of the people, and from this country an emissary was sent to Scotland in the person of Paul Cawar. He was by profession a physician, and he hoped, under the disguise of his calling, to be able to infuse his opinions without detection or interference.

He had made a very considerable advance upon the teaching of his predecessors, by adding to his anti-papal tenets a claim to the right of private judgment in the face of councils and tradition, and a positive denial of any Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament. He gave especial point to the latter by abolishing the Form of Consecration from the Liturgy. He was summoned to appear before a Council and prosecuted for heresy. It is said that he possessed a remarkable knowledge of Holy Scripture, and was able with consummate skill to refer every question to the authority of the Bible; but Lawrence of Lindores, who was again inquisitor, was invincible in argument, and the trial ended in an unanimous verdict and sentence of death. Cawar died at the stake, January 14, 1433 A.D.

After his death there was a long interval before persecution was renewed; but when at last it broke out, at the close of the century, it was upon an extensive scale. In 1494 A.D. Archbishop Blackader of Glasgow took measures for the suppression of a body of heretics known as "the Lollards of Kyle," who had been for some time disturbing the peace of his diocese. He summoned before the King and Council no less than thirty, men and women, and some of high rank¹ and position; the charges brought against them were those with which we have already become familiar, but others were added. They were indicted for heresy upon such subjects as Papal authority, indulgences, excommuni-

¹ Reid of Barskimming, Shaw of Polkemmet, Lady Stairs, Lady Polkillie, Helen and Isabel Chalmers,

cations, relics, invocation of the Blessed Virgin, the enforced celibacy of the clergy, and the universal priesthood of the people. The Archbishop conducted the prosecution in person, and Reid of Barskimming was chosen to speak in defence of the accused. We have only the testimony of prejudiced writers, but if their account may be relied upon, Blackader proved no match for his opponent, who turned the arguments against him with so much wit and humour that the whole proceedings lapsed into ridicule and disorder. It is supposed that he experienced a further difficulty from the opposition of the civic authorities, who were reluctant to sanction any extreme measure; at all events, it was impossible to obtain a verdict, and the accused were dismissed with a warning.

The first quarter of the sixteenth century was just expiring when a fresh outbreak of heresy called for renewed interference. This time it appeared in a somewhat altered guise, and is associated with the teaching of Luther. Patrick Hamilton, a youth of great promise, was made Abbot of Ferns in Ross-shire; and it was deemed advisable that, before entering upon his duties, he should be sent on to the Continent to prosecute his studies. At first he settled, as so many Scotch students did, in Paris, and there attended the lectures of Erasmus and Reuchlin, till something directed his steps to Wittenburg and Marburg, places whose very names are eloquent of Lutheran influence and teaching. It creates no surprise to hear that he was fascinated by that Protestant enthusiast, and still more by Melancthon, whose personal character made him irresistibly

attractive. As soon as he had learned at their feet the principles of the Reformed Creed, he resolved to return home and deliver his countrymen from the bondage of Roman superstition. His conduct became so openly defiant of existing authority that the ecclesiastical rulers were compelled to interfere, and he was arraigned at the bidding of Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and taken for trial to S. Andrews. In addition to the charges upon which the Lollards of Kyle and other heretics had been impeached, he was impugned for the following distinctive Lutheran tenets: that a man is not justified by works but by faith only; that no one can do good of his own free will; that faith, hope, and charity are so linked together that to possess one is to possess all; that God is the cause of sin by withdrawing that grace which is the only preservative against it. He was condemned to death as an obstinate heretic, and hurried to the stake in unseemly haste within a few hours of the conclusion of the trial. His judges were actuated by fear lest the sentence should be overruled. Hamilton was closely related to men in the highest position, and as grandson of the Duke of Albany there was every probability of the royal clemency being invoked to save him. His death excited a very wide-felt sympathy, not only from the unusual nature of his sufferings, which were protracted for six hours through the carelessness of his executioners, but even more from the patience and courage with which he endured them. Not a single murmur against his sentence, or cry for vengeance, escaped his lips, but he yielded himself up in complete resignation

to bear the penalty that he had incurred for conscience sake. He was the first to suffer in Scotland for the Lutheran heresy, as Resby had been for that of Wycliffe. His death bore speedy fruit in the promulgation of his faith; the tide of popular feeling set so strongly in his favour that many were led to embrace his cause, and the Primate was significantly warned either to give up burning heretics or to burn them in private, because "the smoke of the flames in which Hamilton perished had infected with his principles all that it blew upon." Indeed, the spread of Lutheranism became so serious that the secular arm was brought in to stay its progress; the Act of 1425 A.D. was renewed, and the introduction of Lutheran works into the country was peremptorily prohibited. Every ship that came into any port was searched, and if a single copy was found on board the ship was escheated; and to speak in public upon anything written by Luther, save for the purpose of refutation, was made an indictable offence. All these stringent measures failed to arrest the advance. Again and again, during the next few years, the same scenes of persecution and trial were reproduced; fire and faggot were constantly burning; Forrest, Straiton, and Gourlay suffered in 1533 A.D.; Forret, Forrester, and two Dominican friars, Keilor and Beveridge, in 1539 A.D.

The anger of the bishops had been wrought to the highest pitch by the production of a miracle-play in which they were satirised for the part they had taken by being personified under the character of the chief priests who compassed our Lord's crucifixion. Besides the heretics

who were brought to trial, many fled over the border to England and other countries, among whom the most eminent were Alexander Alesius, one of the signatories at the Diet of Worms, and John Machabæus, who headed the Protestant cause at the Court of Denmark. The long list of these trials for heresy closed with one that will ever be remembered in Scottish history as the immediate prelude to what is called the Reformation.

Archbishop Beaton died in 1539 A.D., and was succeeded by his nephew, David Beaton, Bishop of Mirepoix, in France, who had received the dignity of Cardinal from the Pope as S. Stephen in the Cælian Hill. Almost his first act was to summon Sir John Bothwick to appear before him for propagating heretical doctrines; but he escaped before the arrest could be made, and took refuge in England. The Cardinal found some small satisfaction in burning his effigy at S. Andrews and Edinburgh.

When James V. died in the winter of 1542 A.D., Beaton claimed the Regency, but the disaffected nobles were too powerful, and they secured the appointment of the Earl of Arran, whose sympathies at that time were known to be entirely with the Protestants. The battle of Solway Moss threw into the hands of King Henry VIII. a number of the Scotch aristocracy, Lords Cassilis, Fleming, Somerville, Sir George Douglas, and others, and as he was bent upon annexing Scotland, and overthrowing the power of the Pope beyond the border as he had done at home, he made the furtherance of his project the price of their liberty. Thus they returned to Scotland pledged and sworn to the

Protestant cause, with which King Henry was wholly identified. Their first step was to enter into a conspiracy for the assassination of the Cardinal; nothing could succeed till he was removed, for he had set himself strenuously to thwart the King's proposition for a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the young Queen, who was looked to as the stay of the Catholic Church in Scotland. It adds one more to the many stains upon Henry's character to find, through some "ugly revelations" in the State papers, that he was not only privy to their plot for a deliberate murder, but actually encouraged them by secret promises of reward.¹ There is extant a document of the English Privy Council in which it is stated that Lord Cassilis had addressed a letter to Mr. Sadler, one of the King's counsellors, "containing an offer to kill the Cardinal if the King wished it, and would promise a reward when the deed was done." "The assured lords," as the traitors were called, succeeded in throwing him into prison; but the prompt and decided action of the Church, in imposing upon itself all the privations of an interdict as a public protest against the arrest, led to his immediate release. He soon had his revenge. Among those who had returned from England, zealous for change, was George Wishart; he had compromised himself by association with the conspirators, as is now incontrovertibly proved, though the act is strangely condoned or ignored by Protestant biographers. He began a preaching crusade in Scotland, visiting many of the

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII.'s reign, p. 471.

large towns, and denouncing more especially the Monastic Orders. Nothing could have been more inflammatory than the language he used; the teaching of the Church he stigmatised as "pestilential, blasphemous, and abominable, not proceeding from the inspiration of God, but suggested by the devil." The Cardinal issued an order for his arrest, and he was brought before the Council, tried, and condemned to be burnt at S. Andrews. The place of execution was in front of the castle, within sight of the Archiepiscopal palace. To anticipate the possibility of a rescue being attempted, the guns of the castle were pointed at the stake, and gunners stood by them with lighted matches.

There were, no doubt, unnecessary aggravations of cruelty attending his death; they have even been described as "inhuman tortures"; it has been stated that the Cardinal watched his sufferings from a window of the keep with expressions of gratification. Wishart prayed for his murderers, and then, catching sight of his enemy, pointed to him, and with a prophetic voice declared that ere long he too would die, and his lifeless body be hung in ignominy from the very tower where he then sat.¹ Not a few of his biographers² have dwelt with pride on his possession of the spirit of prophecy as one more mark of the Divine favour, but when we read his utterance in the light of what history has disclosed, this boasted gift of preternatural foresight must yield to that assurance which rests upon certain information. The very men who executed the "predicted" revenge

¹ Spottiswoode's "History of Scotland," pp. 76-82; Knox's "History," pp. 43-63.

² "Scots' Worthies," p. 34.

were traitors with whom Wishart had lived in the closest intimacy, and he could not fail to hear of the plot for the Cardinal's assassination, to which they were solemnly pledged, and for which they were daily and hourly working.¹

But to return to his death. It is idle to repeat what has so often been said of others, but it is truer of Wishart than of any that preceded him. His execution gave new force and vigour to the opinions for which he had laid down his life. It made a profound impression upon the popular mind, and created a strong reaction against the Church. Before his martyrdom his influence was comparatively insignificant; he was, it is true, full of enthusiasm and unsparing in abuse, but he was so far from carrying the people with him that he deemed it necessary to surround himself on his missions with "a bodyguard of mail-clad barons and armed retainers." Once or twice the populace were stirred to acts of violence by his fanatical harangues, as when they destroyed the monasteries of Dundee and Lindores, but we have his own confession to testify to the failure of his preaching. The coldness of his audiences and the meagreness of his following called forth a reproachful lamentation on the very night of his arrest: "I have heard of thee, Haddington, that at any vain play two or three thousand people would have flocked to the theatre, but to hear the messenger of the Eternal God there are not even a hundred."²

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII.'s reign, 377; Hamilton Papers, p. 96.

² Knox's "History," i. 138.

Wishart's death was speedily followed by Beaton's assassination. The Protestant conspirators had now a new motive added to their hatred, the desire to avenge the blood of their companion, and within two months they attained their wicked end. Melville and the two Leslies, who had been selected for the deed, obtained admission into the castle by secret artifices when the drawbridge was lowered, and rushing upon the Cardinal as he awoke out of sleep stabbed him to the heart. It was an event of most momentous import, for it robbed the Church of its ablest defender and encouraged the fanatical nobles to go boldly forward in the cause they had so unworthily espoused.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE HISTORIC CHURCH.

Civil war following Cardinal Beaton's assassination—The terror spread by the conspirators—Their stronghold reduced—John Knox taken prisoner—His release and sojourn in England—Refuses a bishopric—Escapes to Germany—His recall to Scotland—Prohibits attendance at Mass—Cited for breach of the law—He flies to Geneva to escape the trial—His letters to the Reformers—The first covenant—A challenge to the Government—Walter Mylne's trial and death—Order to use the Roman Ritual at Easter—Trial of offenders—Knox's return—The multitudes assembling in support of the accused intimidate the Queen Regent—Knox's inflammatory preaching—The riot in S. John's Church, Perth—Destruction of monasteries—The imperious language of the Lords of the Congregation—The treaty of Edinburgh—Broken by the Queen—The occupation of Leith by French troops—Deposition of the Regent—Parliament illegally summoned—Preachers and superintendents appointed—Debates on the legality of the Parliament—The petition of the ministers—A Confession of Faith—The feebleness of the opposition of the Church dignitaries—The names of those who voted in the minority—Imposition of penalties for offenders—Deliberate refusal of Parliament to accept the proposals for dealing with Church property—Greed of gain, the ruling principle of the Lay Reformers, prevented a real Reformation and uprooted the Church.

THE death of Beaton led to an immediate outbreak of civil war. The conspirators seized the castle of S. Andrews, which he had fortified and made, as he believed, impregnable both by sea and land. It became at once a rallying-point for the disaffected nobles, who flocked to it from every quarter, and such was their strength that they defied all the efforts of the

Regent to dislodge them. They took up arms, ostensibly in the name of a reformed religion, but belied their profession by the iniquity of their conduct, and proved that their primary object was rapine and plunder. Their depredations and crimes made them the terror of their neighbourhood, and Knox was so shocked at what he heard, that he determined to repair to the castle, hoping to overawe them by his presence ; his arrival was cordially welcomed by the better part of the garrison, and Rough, a former Dominican who had espoused the Protestant cause, appealed to him in behalf of the congregation to take upon himself the office of public preacher. Knox obeyed the call, and it is some satisfaction to know that his voice was first heard in denouncing the wickedness of the men with whom he had cast in his lot for the overthrow of the Church. How utterly unprincipled the conspirators were may be gathered not only from the record of their crimes, but as well from the compromising revelations which were made when the castle was reduced. A list was discovered of the names of no less than two hundred nobles and others who had secretly pledged their word to betray their country into the hands of England for money. It leaves no doubt that the inspiring motive of their action against the existing religion was simply an over-mastering greed of gain.

At length, after the assaults of the Government forces during a whole year had proved fruitless, a French fleet was despatched at the urgent request of the Regent, and as the admiral was well skilled in the use of artillery, he compelled the garrison to capitulate

after a short resistance in July 1547 A.D. Knox was carried captive with the rest to France, and there condemned to work as a convict, chained to a bench in one of the galleys.

After nineteen months of durance, he was released through the intervention of Edward VI., and joined the Protestant party in England, who were bent on carrying out the Reformation on the lines of the foreign Churches of Geneva and Frankfort. He is said to have taken part in the disastrous revision of the Prayer-book in 1552 A.D., in which so much was done to overshadow the Catholic faith and worship. It deserves, however, to be remembered to his honour that, when the King pressed upon him the Bishopric of Rochester, hoping that in that position he might prove "a whetstone to quicken and sharpen the Bishop of Canterbury," he was perfectly consistent, and declined the proffered dignity. His heart was set upon the extirpation of prelacy in Scotland, and it would have crippled his efforts to the last degree if he had himself accepted the office in England. The accession of Queen Mary drove him to seek refuge in Germany, where his anti-Catholic views were held in high esteem; and at Frankfort he placed himself at the head of those ultra-Protestant refugees from England who wished to shake off all forms and ceremonies in public worship.

In 1553 A.D. he gladly accepted an invitation to return to his own country. The cause which he had so deeply at heart had spread in his absence, but his coming gave it an increasing impetus. A very crucial

question was awaiting solution, and it afforded him just the occasion he desired for decisive action. The more ardent of the Reformers had come to feel scruples about attending the celebration of Mass; if it were as superstitious as they believed, they could no longer *in foro conscientie* sanction it by their presence. They met for discussion, and Maitland of Lethington, whose part in the Reformation was generally characterised by conspicuous moderation, strongly deprecated any action that savoured of illegality; it was their duty to wait until the liberty they claimed should receive the sanction of the law. He pleaded the example of S. Paul going up to the Temple in fulfilment of his vow. Knox's spirit was roused, and flinging his counsels of expediency to the winds, argued that if S. Paul attended the Temple, it was because its ritual had been stamped with the Divine approval, whereas the Mass was a creation of human origin, and corrupt throughout. Nothing could shake him, and his opponent gave way. Henceforward the Reformers separated in body as well as in spirit from the Church of the land. Such a step could not do otherwise than provoke interference; Knox was forthwith cited to appear at the Church of the Blackfriars, to answer the charge of infringing the law. He had on his side some of the most powerful of the nobles, and under their protection was emboldened to address a letter of remonstrance to Mary of Guise, who had now become Regent, but she treated it with contempt, throwing it to the Archbishop and asking in derision, "What he thought of the pasquil?"

While his trial was still pending an urgent summons was sent to him from the Protestant congregation at Geneva to go back as their pastor, and he went. His withdrawal from Scotland at this crisis is most difficult to explain except on the supposition that he felt that his life was in jeopardy, but such an admission ignores the general intrepidity of the man; it was said at his grave in after time, "Here lies one who never feared or flattered any flesh." It is just possible that he believed that his life was necessary for the cause, and that it was incumbent upon him to avoid all risk, even though the avoidance might brand him with cowardice.¹ His departure certainly did save him from imprisonment, perhaps from something even worse, for he was tried and condemned in his absence, and his effigy was burnt in the marketplace of the capital.

Though separated by brutal seas the fiery Reformer made his voice to be heard at home, and his letters came most opportunely for the Reformers, whose zeal was waning, and filled them with fresh hope and enthusiasm. A meeting was held at Edinburgh in December of 1557, A.D., at which they drew up "the First Covenant," pledging themselves as "the congregation of God led by His holy Word with all diligent continuance to apply their work, power, substance, and very lives to maintain, set forward, and establish" the principles of the Reformation. They solemnly called God to witness the sincerity of their purpose, and they appended their names. Among the signatures were the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Morton, Archibald, Lord

¹ M'Crie's "Life of Knox," pp. 115-117.

Lorne, and Erskine of Dun. They and their friends who joined them are known henceforward as "the Lords of the Congregation." They gave very tangible proof of the practical nature of their intentions by issuing two injunctions: 1. "That in all parishes of this realm the Common Prayer be read weekly on Sundays and other festival days, publicly in parish churches . . . and if the curates of the parishes be qualified, that they may read the same; and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read the same." 2. "That doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scripture be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, till God move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers." To issue a proclamation substituting by command the Revised English Prayer-book instead of the recognised Breviary, and setting aside the ministerial commission, was to throw down the gauntlet to the authorities both in Church and State. They were not slow to take it up. Walter Mylne, once a parish priest of Lunan in Angus, who had been arrested before on a charge of heresy, but had eluded the vigilance of his persecutors, was again encouraged to preach under protection of the Covenant. His language was so violent and inflammatory that he was summoned before the Ecclesiastical tribunal; his venerable appearance and feeble frame, so strangely contrasting with his resolute and unflinching courage, enlisted unanimous sympathy, save from his judges, who condemned him to be burnt as a heretic. The words that he spoke, as the flames encompassed him,

stirred the hearts of the bystanders. "I have lived," he said, "upwards of fourscore years, and little more remained in the course of nature, but a hundred others better than myself will rise from my ashes; and I trust that I am the last in Scotland to die for this cause." His wish was realised, for he did close the list of those who laid down their lives for conscience' sake. Such a death could not fail to advance the Protestant cause, and a sudden accession of strength, especially from the ranks of the people throughout the lowlands, stirred the leaders to more vigorous action.

It was met by a determined resistance from the government; the Regent, in reply to an appeal for toleration and liberty to use the vulgar tongue in public worship, issued a proclamation requiring all people to observe the Roman Ritual at the approaching festival of Easter. The Reformers, as a body, ignored the injunction and used the Prayer-book of Edward VI. A large number of the offenders were immediately cited to a Court to be held in Stirling on May 10, 1559 A.D. The summons was issued at a very critical juncture, for John Knox had just arrived at Leith from Geneva. The year before he had published a daring manifesto, entitled the "*First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Rule of Women.*"¹ It was primarily aimed at Queen Mary of England, but with an obvious application to the Queen Regent of his own country.

¹ The work began thus: "To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, or empire above any realm, nation, or city is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to the revealed will and approved ordinance; and finally, it is the subversion of good order and of all equity and justice."

Now there was an old Scottish custom which enabled prisoners on trial to gather round them a retinue of friends and supporters. It was put into force by the Protestant preachers on such an enormous scale, that the Queen was intimidated by their numbers and hastened to offer terms of conciliation. She enlisted the services of Erskine of Dun, who was friendly with both sides, and in her name he promised a suspension of all legal proceedings on condition that the multitude dispersed. Before consenting "the Lords of the Congregation" pledged themselves to reassemble immediately if necessity should arise. Hardly had the proposal been accepted when the Regent without any compunction proceeded to violate her promise, by trying the accused in their absence, and condemning them to be branded as outlaws.¹ Their disbanded adherents quickly mustered again, and at the instigation of Erskine, marched to Perth, where they were met by Knox, who assembled a large congregation in the Church of S. John the Baptist, and preached a most violent sermon on idolatry, denouncing the Mass as an abomination invented to ensnare and degrade the human mind. He had scarcely finished his vehement harangue when a priest came out of the sacristy and began to prepare for a celebration. It was a severe strain to put upon men whose feelings had just been wrought to the very highest pitch, and a youth, less able than the rest by reason of his years to contain himself, cried out, "This is intolerable, that when God by His Word hath plainly

¹ Knox, i. 317-319; Keith, i. 188; Spottiswoode, Tytler, and others testify to the Queen's deceit.

denounced idolatry, we should stand by and see it used in despite." The priest, shocked at the irreverence, struck him a hasty and imprudent blow, and in retaliation he seized a stone and hurled it at the altar, breaking in pieces one of the images. The train of gunpowder was fired. The congregation rose like one man, and within a few minutes every figure and ornament in the building had been demolished. From the church the excited mob rushed into the street, and gathering force as they went, never ceased till they had destroyed every monastery in the city, Dominican, Franciscan, Carthusian, and Carmelite, involving furniture, paintings, vestments, and costly shrines in one promiscuous ruin.¹ They appropriated, however, all the silver plate, jewels, and money that they could lay hands upon. This task of gain so whetted the appetites of "the rascal multitude," that they refused to stay their spoliation till they had literally impoverished the Church. These scenes of sacrilege and destruction were repeated wherever they came. At Cupar, Anstruther, S. Andrews, Scone, Lindores, Balmerino, Stirling, Linlithgow, Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermline, churches and abbeys were sacked and burnt, and nothing but wreck and ruin was left to mark the site of the most splendid foundations.²

"The Lords of the Congregation" were flushed with success, and, waxing more insolent than ever, addressed a violent letter "to the generation of Antichrist, the

¹ *Scoti-Monasticon*, pp. 17, 18.

² It is said that Knox kept crying in their ears, "Down with the crows' nests, or the crows will build in them again." Row's "Hist. of the Kirk," p. 12; Keith's "History," &c., i. 193; *Scoti-Monasticon*, p. 21.

pestilent prelates, and their shavelings in Scotland." It was a document of which even a friend of the Reformation wrote "none can ever read it without sorrow." For a time they seemed to carry everything before them; when they left Perth they were barely three hundred, but their numbers swelled to five thousand; town after town threw open its gates, and they seized the capital without striking a blow. Here they drove out the clergy, and taking possession of the pulpits continued day by day to inflame the populace against the Catholic religion; but a temporary reaction set in. A large number, satisfied with the progress they had made, went back to their homes, and the Queen Regent hearing of their waning zeal marched upon Edinburgh with a troop of French soldiers, and offered the insurgents a treaty on the following conditions: on the one side, that the congregation should affirm their allegiance to the throne, that all sacrilege and spoliation of churches should cease, and that the Catholic clergy should not be interfered with; on the other, that all who preferred the new form of religion should be free to exercise it without molestation. The treaty was no sooner signed than the Queen deliberately broke it; and its breach so offended her chief advisers, the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Arran, that they went over to the side of the enemy. Their defection was a most serious loss to the Catholic Church, for they were the foremost of the Scottish nobility.

The Queen Regent followed up her violation of the treaty by a second unpopular move; she allowed a body of French troops to hold and fortify Leith. It

gave just the stimulus that was needed to revive the failing zeal of the Protestants. Knox, ever eager to seize his opportunity, roused them by most passionate and patriotic appeals to resist a foreign occupation, and they answered to his call. Seeing that the Regent had forfeited all claim to be trusted, they resolved to hold no more parleyings with her representatives, but, gathering together in council took under consideration the gravest question that any subjects can ever propound, viz., does the present abuse of sovereign power justify a nation in deposing the ruler? Knox and Willock were appealed to on the purely religious aspect of the question, and they had no difficulty in satisfying men who were eager to be convinced, that no power could possibly be sustained when it was exercised for the destruction of those whom God had designed it to protect.¹ To give weight to the decision no one was allowed to vote till he had expressed his opinion, and without one dissentient voice the Regent was deposed. Their next step was to summon Parliament to legalise their proceedings. By law and ancient custom Parliament could only be assembled at the command of the sovereign, who must be represented by Commissioners, and whose authority was symbolised by placing upon the throne the regalia, *i.e.* the crown, mace, and sword; but by the treaty of Edinburgh, Parliament had been authorised to meet "to debate upon matters of religion," with the provision that deputies should be sent to the King and Queen—for Mary was now married to the King of

¹ Willock brought forward illustrations from the Old Testament history—Maacha removed by Asa, and Joram by Jehu.

France—to obtain ratification for their proceedings, “if they should be agreeable to their Majesties.” The issue of the deliberations of this Parliament was so grave and momentous that the legality of its constitution must be closely examined. The Lords of the Congregation issued summonses not only for peers, barons, bishops, abbots, and representatives of boroughs, but also for as many as one hundred lesser barons or landed men. There were precedents for citing the latter classes in cases of great emergency, but on no occasion had their numbers exceeded twelve. It was a serious deviation from constitutional order to multiply them so largely, but their known prejudice in favour of Reform induced the congregation to face the illegality. They had disregarded law and custom in usurping the sovereign authority to cite the members of Parliament, and they had resolved to ignore the provisions of the treaty, if their action should not meet with royal approval; it was only another step in the same direction to secure an overwhelming majority by swelling the numbers of undoubted supporters.

Parliament met on July 10, 1560 A.D., but only to adjourn till August 1st. In the interval some important business was transacted by the congregation in concert with a portion of the members. After holding a service of thanksgiving in the High Church at Edinburgh they proceeded to appoint preachers to the principal towns of the kingdom: John Knox to Edinburgh, Goodman to S. Andrews, Heriot to Aberdeen, Row to Perth, Paul Methven to Jedburgh, Christison to Dundee, Lindsay to Leith, and David Fergusson to Dunfermline.

They also nominated the following "Superintendents of districts": Spottiswood for the Lothians, Willock for Glasgow, Winram for Fife, Erskine of Dun for Angus and Mearns, and Carswell for Argyle and the Isles.¹ Hitherto the Reformed ministers had only held a roving commission, traversing the country as itinerant preachers; henceforward they claimed the legal status of a settled pastorate. Immediately after the adjournment plenipotentiaries were despatched to the King and Queen asking them to signify their approval of their sitting in Parliament, but there is no trace of their assent having been given, and the opening debates leave no doubt that it was withheld. Nevertheless, the members assembled on the day named, August 1st. A preliminary question of vital moment at once engaged their attention, and it was debated for a whole week before they attempted to proceed to parliamentary business: it was whether they were legally constituted. As soon, however, as this was settled in the affirmative, they waxed bold and ordered the regalia to be fetched, in open defiance of the very authority their presence symbolised. Their next step was to elect a "speaker." Maitland of Lethington, a man of great influence with the congregation, was chosen, and he opened the proceedings with a powerful appeal for united action. "The Lords of Articles"—a committee of twenty-four members whose assent was necessary for any matter to be brought before the House—were then elected, and a petition having received their approval, was laid upon the table. It had been drawn up

¹ Spottiswoode, ii. 336. Keith's "Catalogue," p. 307.

by the preachers and superintendents, and contained the most pressing grievances of the Protestant party. It was couched in violent language, demanding the abolition of such damnable doctrines as Transubstantiation, Eucharistic Adoration, Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, and Justification by Works. It called for an anathema upon the clergy, and demanded the appropriation of the patrimony of the Church to the support of the Reformed ministry, the provision of schools and relief of the poor, and it closed with the extravagant, one might say blasphemous, assertion that the petition was not theirs but God's.

The document was read and discussed, and then the aforesaid ministers of religion were ordered to draw up a "Confession of Faith" for general acceptance. The result of their deliberations, which lasted for four days, was a form far more moderate than we should have expected. It is said that its conciliatory tone was due to the influence of Winram and Maitland, who were entrusted with its revision before it was presented to Parliament. There is much in it that is perfectly consistent with Catholic teaching, indeed, this may be said of the bulk of its articles; but on the following points it traversed the ancient faith: (1) in limiting the Church to "the elect of all ages," who rightly worship and embrace God by true faith, and in rejecting the value of antiquity, title and lineal descent, or the voice of the General Councils in distinguishing a true from a false branch of it; (2) in ordaining that the sacraments could only be rightly administered by such ministers as had been appointed to the preaching of the Word,

or into whose mouths God had put some sermon of exhortation, they being lawfully chosen thereto by some church; (3) in declaring that the civil magistrates are God's viceregents, to whom chiefly pertain the reformation and purgation of religion.

There is no trace of any serious opposition to the petition, and only the faintest to the new Confession. Severe animadversions have been passed upon the ecclesiastical chiefs for the feebleness of their resistance; indeed, it called forth an outburst of indignant sarcasm at the time from the Earl Marshal, who ended a withering speech by reminding them that, having failed to protest whilst it was under discussion, they would be bound loyally to accept it when it became law. The Primate and the Bishop of Dunblane and Dunkeld pleaded for delay, but nothing more; they made no pretence to argue on the merits of the case. The debate was closed by Lord Lindsay, who rose in his place, and after thanking God that He had spared him to see the realisation of his hopes, took up the words of the aged Simeon, and said, amidst a profound stillness, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace." The House then divided. The Abbot of Kilwinning and five of the temporal peers—the Earls of Athole, Cassilis, and Caithness, and Lords Borthwick and Somerville—had the courage of their opinions and voted in the opposition; a few had left in the process of the debate, or abstained from voting, and all the propositions, with the exception of a single clause in the petition, were carried by an overwhelming majority.¹

¹ Acts of Parliament for Scotland, vol. ii. 525-534; Knox, ii. 87-122; Keith, i. 311-322.

All that now remained to be done was to make legal provision for the enforcement of the decrees ; this was secured by the imposition of the following penalties : for the first infringement of the new laws the offender should forfeit his goods, and receive corporal punishment at the discretion of the judges ; for the second, he should be banished from the kingdom ; and for the third, he should incur the sentence of death.

The one proposal which did not pass into law deserves careful attention ; it was that which provided for the transfer of the property of the Church. There is no report of its ever having been brought under discussion ; it was simply passed by in silence, probably from not having received the assent of "the Lords of Articles." Its suppression throws a flood of light upon the constraining motive of the majority of the reforming peers. The few pious Protestants who drew up the Petition and Confession were animated by disinterested principles, mistaken, no doubt, but based upon deep religious convictions ; the disaffected nobles, whose assistance they eagerly embraced, were with few exceptions swayed in all their action by the prospect of enrichment. It had been dangled before their eyes by Henry VIII. in England, and they never forgot it ; we have the clearest proofs of their aims, when they rejected the petition to allocate the revenues of the Church to the ministry, schools, and the poor. They had begun to taste the sweets of spoliation, and they would not by any act of their own place further and fuller gratification beyond their reach.

It ought never to be forgotten. But for the rapacity

of the nobles there might have been a real reformation. The zeal and enthusiasm of the religious Protestants was such that it must have roused the ecclesiastical rulers sooner or later to correct their lives, and to prune away the overgrowths of superstition in faith and worship, and we should never have witnessed that uprooting of the historic Church which left the nation with no means of perpetuating an apostolic ministry.

CHAPTER XIV.

SCHEME FOR THE POLITY AND MAINTENANCE OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

Effect produced by the death of Francis II.—The First Book of Discipline—The democratic spirit—Public worship—Administration of the Holy Communion—Patrimony of the Church—Common Prayer—The General Assembly inaugurated—The nobles in Parliament refuse to sanction the Book of Discipline—Act for further demolition of monasteries—Condition of the Church patrimony—Poverty of the incumbents of parishes—The Privy Council distribute the Church property—Scanty portion allocated to the ministry—John Knox's indignation.

THE religious revolution in Scotland was quickly followed by the death of Francis II., King of France, and the event was hailed with intense satisfaction by the Protestant party. It removed a standing menace, and filled them with hope for the stability of their success. There was scarcely anything they had more feared than the influence of France, which might at any time be invoked in favour of the Catholic Church.

They had already provided for the new faith by the Confession which the ministers had drawn up; they proceeded now to frame a scheme of polity for their constitution and maintenance. The same Commissioners were appointed to make it; and when it was finished they issued it under the title of "the First Book of Discipline." It is a long and bulky document dealing at length with the official ministry, the worship,

and the maintenance of the Reformed Church. It will suffice here to notify some of the chief points in which it traverses Catholic rule and practice.

Under the first head it abolished Episcopacy, giving to "superintendents" the oversight of districts, but none of those functions which are inseparable from the highest orders in the Church. It forbade the universal practice of laying on of hands for the ministry in these words: "Other ceremonies than the public approbation of the people and the declaration of the chief minister, that the person then presented is appointed to serve that Church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used the imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not to be necessary." Throughout, the directions are marked by that democratic spirit which Knox had imbibed at Geneva. Calvin hated Episcopacy because its supreme government and control was too monarchical; a presbyterate, on the other hand, by its parity of rank and authority and its dependence on popular election, reflected the republic, which he loved. In its provisions for public worship it made the homage which is due from the creature to the Creator a secondary object by stringent rules for sermons to be preached, and only regarding the Common Prayers as an alternative for these. The observance of special days, even those of immemorial antiquity such as Christmas, Epiphany, and Feasts of the Apostles were forbidden, and it was further affirmed that "the obstinate maintainers of such abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate."

The Holy Communion was only to be administered four times a year, and to avoid the great anniversaries of the Church, particularly Easter, the days fixed were the first Sundays in March, June, September, and December. "Sitting at Table" was prescribed as most convenient, and not only did the minister break the bread, but "the rest every one with other" were commanded also to break it.

The service at the burial of the dead, with the celebration and dirge, was taken away, and no ceremony whatever allowed. Abbeys, chapels, cathedrals, canonries, and colleges, in which the worship of God had been the chief occupation of the monks, canons, and prebendaries, were denounced as "places of idolatry to be utterly suppressed."

Under the third head, they engaged that the patrimony of the Church should be appropriated to the three great purposes of maintaining the new ministry, educating the young, and supporting the poor. The spirit of all that is here enjoined contrasts most favourably with what has gone before; and the recognition of this threefold obligation laid upon the Church, due, no doubt, mainly to the influence of Knox, is the one bright spot in the revolutionary proposals. While everything was done by the nobles to enrich themselves, Knox and the reforming ministers manifested no trace of greed or selfishness, but framed their scheme of maintenance on a thoroughly disinterested basis.

In the Document there were several references to "Common Prayer," by which we are to understand "the Genevan Order," henceforward to be adopted in

Scotland rather than the Revised Prayer-Book of Edward VI., which had been substituted at first for the unreformed use. It continued to be the Protestant form of worship for many years.

Such were some of the most violent changes proposed in "the Book of Discipline." Unlike "the Confession," however, it did not so readily secure the sanction of Parliament.

The first public official act of the Reformed Church was the meeting of "the General Assembly" in Magdalen Chapel, Edinburgh, on December 20, 1560 A.D. This was the new Ecclesiastical Council, intended to consist of ministers and commissioners from "all parts of the kirk in this realm"; but in its first gathering it bore all "the marks of an infant and unformed society." The former class of members were represented by seven only, and there were thirty-four of the latter; under the circumstances of this inequality they passed no formal resolutions, but agreed to petition Parliament to enforce its enactments in regard to the Mass, which was continued in certain specified districts, and especially to punish the Abbot of Crossraguel and the Prior of Whithorn.

There was a Convention of the Estates in January 1561 A.D., when the Book of Discipline was laid before them for legal sanction. It goes without saying that Knox and his party were disappointed. The nobles would have accepted without the least compunction all that affected the constitution of the new Church, but its appropriation of the patrimony of the old was wholly impossible. It would have entailed their surrender of

all the spoil that they had gained, and put out of reach the further enrichment upon which they were bent. A certain number, however, finding that there was no prospect of the proposals being formally accepted, professed their willingness to use their individual influence to carry them out. It was a profession and nothing more.

The General Assembly held their second meeting on May 27, 1561 A.D. The expected return of the Queen to Scotland made it most desirable that the new constitution should be consolidated before her arrival, and that further measures be taken to efface what was left of the old religion. They agreed to petition the Privy Council and Convention of the Estates; the result of which was, that an Act was passed for the demolition of the remaining abbeys, churches, and cloisters. In order to ensure its thorough execution the work was carefully portioned out and intrusted to the most ardent of the Protestant nobles, including the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn, and the Lord James Murray. It led to what has been described as "a pitiful devastation of churches and church buildings throughout all parts of the realm." The sacred vessels and all that could be converted into gain were sold; the very tombs of the dead were ransacked; even the registers and libraries committed to the flames. It was for the most part a repetition of what had been done two years before, but with this one marked contrast: the former destruction was carried out by "the rascal multitude" in defiance of the law, under the blind impulse of a wild fanaticism; the latter was deliberately planned and

executed under the controlling hand of "the Lords of the Congregation" by Parliamentary authority.

Now it will be well before proceeding further to consider how far the Revolution had affected the patrimony of the Church.

Of the bishoprics five were vacant in 1560 A.D., viz., Argyle, Orkney, Galloway, Brechin, and Ross; but bishops had been elected to the first three. These all renounced their allegiance and went over to the Reformers, taking with them the Episcopal revenues.

Through the influence of the Earl of Argyle, a young man, Alexander Campbell, was nominated to Brechin, but not consecrated; he too went over, but previous to doing so alienated the property of the See to the Earl. The See of Ross was left vacant for some years till Queen Mary nominated Leslie in 1565 A.D. The rest of the bishops retained their revenues though prohibited from fulfilling the duties of their office, and so did their successors.

In the case of the abbots and priors, in some cases they were allowed to hold their estates or portions of them, or else they were alienated by long leases or feus to secular members of the family, so as to secure them from the hands of the Protestants. In other cases they were forcibly seized by powerful nobles, who, being "Lords of the Congregation," felt that they would be strong enough to protect, under the cover of future law, provisions illegally obtained.

The incumbents of small benefices were the only persons who suffered that loss, and that, it would seem, because they were too weak and unimportant to defend

themselves against usurpation. They were reduced to beggary, and in many cases compelled to embrace the Protestant cause to save themselves from starvation.

At the urgent entreaty of Knox the General Assembly had recommended to Parliament the solution proposed in the First Book of Discipline for the settlement of the property of the proscribed Church. It had been rejected, as we have seen; but the present condition of things could not possibly be continued, unless the new ministry were to be left to starve. They had only the barest pittance to live upon. Before the year closed the Privy Council determined upon the following distribution of ecclesiastical revenues. Two-thirds should remain in the hands of those at the present time in possession, the remaining third to be divided between the Crown and the Reformed ministry. If the division were equitably made it would secure about £70,000 a year for the services of religion, only, it is true, one-sixth of what had been at the disposal of the Catholic Church, but still no inadequate sum for the work to be done. Knox, however, was dissatisfied, and exclaimed in indignant sarcasm, "Two parts to the devil, and the third divided between the devil and God." When the final appointment was made, all that was left for the religious teaching of the country was £25,000 a year.

CHAPTER XV.

QUEEN MARY AND JOHN KNOX.

The return of the Queen to Scotland—Cordial reception from her subjects—Celebration of Mass at Holyrood—Proclamation in favour of toleration—Knox's anger—His first interview with the Queen—Proceedings taken against him for treason—He conspires to overthrow the Queen—Her deposition and Murray's regency—Trial of the Bishop of Dunblane and others, both clerical and lay—Knox's death—His disinterestedness the best feature in his character—Hatred of popery an overmastering principle—His religion almost wholly negative and Judaic.

MARY had left Scotland as a little child, she returned to it a widow. Her early years had been spent in France, and she had learned to love it intensely with all its brightness and gaiety. Those who accompanied her on the voyage home tell of her unspeakable sadness as she watched the receding shores, crying again and again, "Farewell, France, beloved France, I shall see thee no more." She landed at Leith on August 19, 1561 A.D., and was received by her subjects with the wildest enthusiasm. It was thirteen years since they had seen their sovereign, and they were weary of regents. For nearly two years they had experienced all the troubles and tumult of anarchy. Now at least they would have a recognised head; and the prospect of a regal government, with all the pomp and splendour it would bring back, filled them with delight. The rumours, too, of the surpassing grace and beauty of

their Queen enhanced their hopes, and won by anticipation their admiring devotion.

For a brief space they laid aside their religious controversies, and forgot that she was loyally attached to the faith which but a year before the nation had publicly repudiated. But their fears were soon to be aroused. The fiery Reformer had taught them by incessant iteration that the Mass was the embodiment of idolatry; and when they heard that the Queen had restored the Catholic ceremonial in the Chapel of Holyrood, and that she and her court had attended Mass, their indignation was excited, and they besieged the palace and cried before its gates, "The idolatrous priests shall die the death."

The Privy Council was summoned and a proclamation issued in the name of the Queen, ordering that, while no one should be allowed to interfere with the Protestant form of worship, the Queen's household should be free to exercise that which was agreeable to their Church without molestation. It was received with very divided feelings; by some it was welcomed as the first undoubtedly legal recognition of the Reformation, but there were others who accounted it wholly unreasonable that what was forbidden to subjects should be granted to the sovereign. Knox's anger was roused to the highest pitch, and he preached one of his most vehement sermons on idolatry, declaring that "the celebration of a single Mass was a greater evil to the nation than an invasion of 10,000 men." The Queen summoned him for an interview in the palace. She had often heard of his marvellous power and influ-

ence, and in the confidence of her faith she resolved to pit herself against him ; but though she was able to meet and rebut his arguments, she found herself powerless in face of his coarse and unscrupulous invectives, and they separated. The sole result of the conference was an increased determination on Knox's part never to cease his efforts till he had compassed her overthrow. The violence of his language was redoubled, but she bore it with patience, and on three several occasions renewed the attempt to convince him by argument. He inveighed against the festivities at Holyrood with the bitterest Puritanism, comparing her conduct to that of the most reprobate Queen in history, and even in her presence tried to vindicate the comparison ; and when she asked that at least he would rebuke her in private if his conscience compelled him, he rudely excused himself on the plea that his time was too valuable to be wasted in waiting her pleasure at the palace gate.

Once only did she treat him with the severity that he deserved ; in 1564 A.D., while she was absent in the provinces, her court was attacked at Holyrood by riotous intruders at the celebration of Mass, and Knox stirred up the country to make a violent demonstration at the trial of the offenders. His letters were discovered, and they were couched in such inflammatory and treasonable language that law and order demanded that he should be arrested. Such, however, was the prejudice of the Council against the Catholic religion that, though the Queen, whose authority he had openly defied, presided at the trial, he was acquitted of the charge.

They met no more. Knox went forth from the Council Chamber with his conviction strengthened that the Protestant religion would never be secured till the Queen was removed. He had been privy to the plot for the assassination of her secretary, Rizzio ; henceforward he would have no scruple in conspiring for the destruction of the Queen's influence, whether by death or deposition. As long as she reigned her name would always be a rallying-cry for the advocates of the faith which it had been his lifelong work to uproot ; and there was nothing, no treason or even bloodshed, that would not be justified in his eyes to avert such a calamity. His words to Cecil reveal unmistakably that this was his mind and will : " If ye strike not at the root, the branches which appear to be broken will bud again, and that more quickly than men can believe, with greater force than we can wish." It is strange that in the consciousness of his own insatiate thirst for bloodshed, he should not have hesitated to urge on without the slightest compunction the trial of the Queen, as an accessory to murder. He had the satisfaction at last of realising his cherished hopes, for he saw the reins of government once more in Protestant hands. The Queen was forced to abdicate on July 24, 1567 A.D., and the regency conferred on the Earl of Murray. With her deposition the last hope perished, at least for that generation, of restoring to Scotland the Catholic Church.

The Regent lost no time in enforcing the laws of the Protestant Parliament. The Bishop of Dunblane was tried and condemned for celebrating Mass, and a

large number of persons in high positions, both clerical and lay, were summoned before the Privy Council, and after having their property escheated were condemned as outlaws to quit the country. Somewhat later four priests, also from Dunblane, were sentenced to be hanged at Stirling, and their sentence was seized upon as the occasion of a popular demonstration of the fanatical hatred against the faith they professed. The prisoners were dressed in their official vestments, with the chalice in their hands, and then exposed in a pillory in the market-place ; and after every indignity had been offered, they were roughly stripped before the people, the vestments and sacred vessels were burnt by the public executioner, and they themselves ignominiously banished. These are but specimens of the rancorous animosity with which Catholics were persecuted after the Queen's deposition.

Knox lived long enough to see and be satisfied. He died on November 24, 1592 A.D., and was buried under the shadow of S. Giles' Church, where so many of his impassioned harangues had been delivered. It is impossible to over-estimate the part that he had played in the religious revolution of his country, but it is satisfactory to find that his conduct and principles have not escaped the censure even of those who approve of the work that he achieved. Perhaps the one characteristic which may be set down to his credit without the slightest deduction is his absolute disinterestedness. In a generation of unbounded rapacity, and with ample opportunity of self-enrichment, even in the closest league with men who subordinated every prin-

ciple to a passion for greed, he is never known to have appropriated a single groat that he could not legally claim. His zeal was unbounded, but it carried him away to the extremity of intemperance. His eloquence was fervid and moving to a degree, but it betrayed him into vituperative charges that nothing can justify. To stand in the pulpit, and before an excited audience to dare to brand as a harlot and murderer a woman against whom no single charge had ever been proved, and that woman his queen, is to merit the severest condemnation. He was a man of a single idea, a hatred of Popery, and he regulated all his words and actions in view of its fullest satisfaction. His religion was almost wholly negative, with far too little of the true spirit of Christ's gospel. It has been well described as an aggravated form of a perverted Judaism. Like Calvin, the master at whose feet he had sat in the school of Geneva, he spared none that opposed him, but persecuted his adversaries even to the death.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANDREW MELLVILLE AND THE DIVINE RIGHT OF THE PRESBYTERATE.

A questionable expedient tried for the recovery of the patrimony of the Church—Restoration of an Episcopate in name, without the jurisdiction—The difficulty attending it—A fatal flaw in the scheme—Appointment of Douglas to the See of S. Andrews—Failure through the rapacity of lay-patrons—Tulchan-bishops—Andrew Melville the great opponent of Episcopacy—Meaning of bishop and presbyter—Melville's arguments in favour of a Presbyterate—A conference on the subject—First step towards the final suppression of bishops—The Second Book of Discipline—Its various provisions—Correction of so-called abuses—Rejected by the Privy Council—The griefs of the Kirk—The Raid of Ruthven—The anti-Presbyterian Laws passed at Edinburgh—Submission of the ministers—The King orders the ministers to pray for his mother, Queen Mary—The King attends a service of intercession at S. Giles' Church—His sanction to Presbyterianism under pressure of circumstances—Death of Archbishop Adamson—Petition to the King—Act in favour of the Book of Discipline—The Charter of the Liberties of the Kirk—Presbyterians persecute the Church.

THE ministers of the Reformed Church were reduced to such straits for maintenance that they were driven to accept a proposal of very questionable expediency. Every effort to obtain anything like an adequate portion of the Church's patrimony had failed; and even that which had been legally assigned to them was largely curtailed by false returns and oppressive exactions. The unreformed bishops retained their titles by courtesy, and in common with the abbots and priors, as possessors of "baronial benefices," had a

right to seats in Parliament, and what was most important under the existing circumstances, enjoyed the Episcopal revenues, either whole or in part. It was suggested that if the bishops were engrafted on to the Reformed Church, with a duly appointed sphere of work, when they came to realise the poverty of their fellow-workers they would be disposed to share their incomes with them. It was a favourable opportunity for the experiment, as there were several vacancies in the Sees at the time, and the Reformers hoped to procure the nomination to these of men of Protestant views, and at the same time to stir the titular bishops then in possession to a sense of responsibility by a solemn dedication to their office. Not a few of those who bore the name were consecrated. It was practically a hopeless scheme, especially when it came to be worked out; for the Reformers in their hatred of Episcopacy, while retaining the title, proceeded to strip the office of its inherent prerogatives, by taking from it all spiritual authority and jurisdiction. The Regent summoned the superintendents and ministers to a convention at Leith in January 1572 A.D., and in concert with commissioners from the Privy Council they drew up an agreement, of which the following were the main provisions: that "in consideration of the present time" the titles of archbishops and bishops and the bounds of dioceses should remain as heretofore; that such as were admitted to bishoprics should be of due age and scriptural qualifications; that they should be chosen by a Chapter or Assembly of learned ministers; that they should have no greater jurisdiction than was

already possessed by superintendents, but should be subject to the General Assemblies of the Church in spiritual matters; that abbacies and priories should continue in like manner, provision being first made for the ministers of the churches attached to them; that provostories, prebendaries, and chaplaincies should be appropriated for purposes of education.

The agreement was referred to the Regent, who promised to obtain the ratification of Parliament, and to induce the lay-patrons to fall in with the scheme. From the Presbyterian point of view its utter incongruity, with a hatred of prelacy in any form, created the strongest presumption that it could only be carried out with the greatest difficulty; while from the side of Catholicity, it was self-condemned by an inherent flaw of the gravest kind—there was no provision for a legitimate consecration. Those who were expected to lay hands on the bishops had not themselves necessarily been ordained; whereas it has always been an essential principle of ordination in the Catholic Church, that no man can give that which he has not himself received.

Action was at once taken under the scheme by the appointment of John Douglas, Rector of the University, to the See of S. Andrews, then vacant. He was duly approved by the Chapter, the form of examination held for the admission of a superintendent was gone through, and the archbishop-elect was admitted by the laying on of hands of the Bishop of Caithness, Winram, superintendent of Lothian, and David Lindsay, minister of Leith; but two of the “consecrators” had not

themselves been ordained. A similar process was followed in filling up the Archiepiscopal See of Glasgow, and the bishoprics of Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Moray.

The main objects which the Reformers had in view were defeated, for the patrons who procured the appointment to the vacancies contrived to stipulate with their nominees, as before, that they should be satisfied to receive a small portion of the revenues; indeed, the abuse was so generally notorious, that the people invented a significant but derisive nickname, and called them "Tulchan-bishops." It was a common custom among the dairymen in Scotland to stuff a calf-skin with straw and place it beside the cow, to induce her to give her milk more freely; this was called a "tulchan." The bishops bore the name, the rich nobles received the milk.

The scheme was so widely obnoxious to the Protestants that the General Assembly before many months had passed were obliged to issue a declaration explaining that the order was only *ad interim*, and that they hoped soon to change the names of archbishops and bishops into others less "slanderous and offensive." It was allowed, however, to struggle on till the advent of Andrew Melville, who threw all his energy into the abolition of such an anomalous system. He had received his education at Geneva under the guidance of Calvin and Beza, and was a keen republican both in civil and ecclesiastical polity. He became a member of the General Assembly, and as the Scottish belief in "the Divine right of the Presbyterate" dates from his action and teaching, it will be well to state his views in his

own words. "He was satisfied," he said, "that prelacy had no foundation in the Scriptures, and that viewed as a human expedient, its tendency was extremely doubtful, if not necessarily hurtful to the interests of religion. The words *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are interchangeably used in the New Testament; and the most popular arguments for the Divine origin of Episcopacy are founded on ignorance of the original of Scripture. It was the opinion of Jerome and other Christian fathers that all ministers of the Gospel were at first equal; and that the superiority of bishops originated in custom, not in Divine appointment. A certain degree of pre-eminence was at an early period given to one of the college of presbyters over the rest, with the view or under the pretext of preserving unity; but this device had often bred dissension, while it fostered a spirit of ambition and avarice among the clergy. . . . He had witnessed the good effects of Presbyterian parity at Geneva and in France. The maintenance of the hierarchy in England he could not but consider as one cause of the rarity of preaching, the poverty of the lower orders of the clergy, pluralities, want of discipline and other abuses, which had produced dissensions and heart-burnings in that flourishing kingdom; and he was convinced that the best and the only effectual way of redressing the grievances which at present afflicted the Church of Scotland, and of preventing their return, was to strike at the root of the evil by abolishing prelacy, and restoring that parity of rank and authority which existed at the beginning among all the pastors of the Church."

Melville's speech made a profound impression, and was followed by the institution of a Conference to consider whether Episcopal functions as then exercised had any authority in God's Word, and whether the mode of election by Chapters could be tolerated in a Reformed Church. Craig, Lawson, and Melville were selected to support the negative; Hay, Row, and Lindsay the affirmative; but though Melville was far superior to his opponents in knowledge and powers of debate, no definite line of action was decided upon for three years. At last, in April 1578 A.D., the General Assembly, in which Melville was Moderator, decided that no more vacant bishoprics should for the present be filled up. It was the first step to the final suppression of the order.

In addition to the above provisional order they drew up a Book of Polity, entitled "The Second Book of Discipline." It has been from time to time subjected to revision, but in its main essential principles it has been accepted by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, from the time of its first introduction to the present day. Briefly digested it is as follows: The government of the Church consists in three things—doctrine, discipline, and distribution. Corresponding to this division, there are three kinds of Church officers: ministers, who are preachers and dispensers of the sacraments as well as rulers; elders, who are merely rulers; and deacons, who act as stewards of the Church's funds. The name *Bishop* is of the same import as pastor or minister: it does not indicate superiority or lordship. Connected with the pastor is a doctor or teacher, whose function

is to instruct. Elders examine, in company with ministers, those who come to the Lord's Supper, and visit the sick, but their chief duty is to hold assemblies for purposes of discipline. All office-bearers are to be admitted by election and ordination. The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, earnest prayer, and the imposition of hands by the elders or presbytery. So far touching the ministry.

Ecclesiastical assemblies are of four kinds : particular, for one or more congregations ; provincial, for all the presbyteries within the province ; national or general, consisting of representatives from all the presbyteries of the realm where it is gathered, with power to deal with everything affecting the welfare of the National Church ; and general, that is, of all nations of the whole Church of God. In each of the presbyteries a moderator is to be chosen by the members, to whom it belongs to propose subjects for debate, to gather the votes, and keep good order.

The patrimony, including settled property and occasional offerings, is to be administered by the deacons and applied to four objects : the support of ministers ; the support of elders and other officers, if necessary ; the maintenance of the sick and needy ; and the reparation of places of worship and the provision of extraordinary charges.

It also pointed out certain abuses which called for correction : viz., the usurped authority of bishops and their seat in Parliament, and the seat of abbots and priors without the assent of the Church ; the exercise of criminal justice in conjunction with the pastoral

office ; pluralities, and nominations to benefices without the assent of the people.

It will be seen at once that it aimed at the complete overthrow of Episcopacy ; but though it received the sanction of the General Assembly in 1581 A.D. the Privy Council refused to ratify it, and henceforward the Church and the State were in open conflict. The King looked with jealousy upon the establishment of ecclesiastical courts, which rested upon the will of the people, and were wholly independent of the civil magistrate, and he was determined to disallow their jurisdiction. At an assembly held in Edinburgh the following year, Melville made a very impassioned harangue, denouncing the royal claims as intended "to pull the crown off Christ's head and to wring the sceptre out of His hand." They then drew up a series of articles entitled "the griefs of the Kirk," in which they set forth their perplexities arising from the rival claims to their loyal obedience of God and the King ; and sent deputies to Perth to lay them at the foot of the throne. The Earl of Arran, who was in attendance upon the King, when he read the document, asked in threatening tones, "Who dares to subscribe to these treasonable articles ?" "We dare," said Melville, and going calmly to the table signed his name, and the rest of the Commissioners followed his example. It brought them no redress ; and in their straits they became party to a desperate conspiracy to take the young king prisoner, and displace the existing government. By "the Raid of Ruthven" they secured his person, imprisoned him and the Earl of Arran, who attempted his rescue, in Stirling Castle,

and banished the Duke of Lennox from the kingdom. The General Assembly publicly expressed their approval of this violent measure, and proceeded to establish Presbyterianism in all parts of the realm. The King escaped from confinement and took a speedy revenge. A Parliament was hastily summoned to Edinburgh in May 1584 A.D., consisting for the most part of devoted adherents of the Crown, and a series of severe laws were passed which struck dismay into the hearts of the Presbyterians. They were inspired by Archbishop Adamson, who henceforward appears as the leading advocate of Episcopacy. They established the authority of the King over all causes civil and ecclesiastical; they subjected the clergy to the authority of the secular courts; they pronounced any attempt to diminish the rights and privileges of the Three Estates to be high treason; and forbade the presbyters to hold any assembly without the sanction of the King.

When these laws, according to custom, were proclaimed at the Market Cross, two of the ministers, Pont and Balcanquil, made a solemn protest, and after calling upon the people to resist, fled with haste across the border to England. The Earl of Arran issued a proclamation calling upon the ministers to give in their formal submission or quit the country. A large number, even of the most ardent Protestants, yielded to the pressure, but in the Lowlands the majority preferred flight to humiliation. Edinburgh was left without a single minister. In 1585 A.D. a successful raid of one of the border chiefs, Lord Maxwell, who had a deadly feud with Arran, led to their restoration. They could

ill brook to be long expatriated, and eagerly watched for some turn in the tide of affairs to bring them back. The defeat of Arran, and the triumph of the banished nobles who had joined with Melville, encouraged them to return. They followed in the wake of the victorious troops; and when they heard that their leaders had entered into the King's presence at Stirling, they were filled with hope, and received forgiveness on their bended knees. From this time they pursued their calling unmolested, and the Protestant cause little by little regained its ascendancy, till it was suddenly checked on the eve of Queen Mary's execution. The King, realising that his mother's death was determined, gave orders to the ministers to remember her in their prayers. In consideration for their religious scruples the language was framed so as to do least violence to their conscience; they were asked to pray that "it might please God to illuminate her with the light of His truth, and save her from the apparent danger wherein she was cast." The order was generally disobeyed, but with marked defiance at Edinburgh. The King thereupon appointed a fixed day for a Service of Intercession, and called upon the Primate of S. Andrews to prepare himself to preach before him on the occasion; but when he entered S. Giles' Church he found that the pulpit had been preoccupied by the ordinary minister. The King addressed him from his seat, telling him that though another had been destined to occupy the place, yet he would grant him leave to remain, provided he obeyed the charge that had been given to pray for his mother. The minister answered

that he could only speak as the Spirit gave him utterance, whereupon he was forcibly removed by the body-guard of the King. The Archbishop, amidst a scene of the wildest disorder, ascended the pulpit and preached on the duty of Christians "to pray for all men." The recreant minister was tried for contumacy, and imprisoned at Blackness.

Notwithstanding the increasing animosity of the King towards the Presbyterians, he was led by the pressure of circumstances to sanction certain Acts which led to their ultimate triumph. His exchequer was greatly impoverished, and it was pressed upon him that it would relieve his subjects from the burden of taxation if he appropriated to the Crown the temporalities of the bishoprics; and he was persuaded that the reservation of the tithes together with the prelates' houses would suffice to support their dignity and estate. An Act was passed for the purpose, but the King lived to see that he had lost more than he gained thereby, and to stigmatise it in the *Basilikon Doron* as a "vile and pernicious Act," for it largely facilitated the overthrow of Episcopacy, to which he was cordially attached. Archbishop Adamson died in 1591 A.D., and in the spring of the following year the General Assembly made a successful effort to gain the great purpose which they had pursued with so much determination—the full legal establishment of the Presbytery. The time was most opportune. The King was at the height of unpopularity with his subjects through his connivance at Lord Murray's murder; his government had proved its incapacity to deal with crime and blood-

shed, which were rife everywhere; and, lastly, Bruce, who was a favourite at court, was Moderator of the Assembly. A petition was presented to the King embodying four requests: (1) the repeal of the "black Acts" which had been passed in 1584 A.D.; (2) the restoration of the patrimony of the Church; (3) the exclusion of the prelates and old monastic dignitaries from Parliament; (4) the complete abolition of idolatry.

The several demands were by no means conceded, but an Act was passed which was cordially welcomed by the petitioners. It ratified some of the leading propositions of the "Second Book of Discipline," giving to General Assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and particular sessions of the Kirk the jurisdiction they claimed; repealing all statutes, acts, and canons which had been passed to the contrary; and ordaining that all presentations should be made to the presbyteries with full power to collate to benefices, and to manage all ecclesiastical causes within their bounds. It has ever since been regarded as "the Charter of the liberties of the Kirk."

The Reformers had triumphed at last, and not satisfied to enjoy in peace and contentment the privileges they had won, they entered upon a course of persecution, and in time drew back upon themselves many of the troubles from which they had been emancipated. Tytler has exposed the folly of their conduct in vigorous terms: "The permission even of a single case of Catholic worship, however secret; the attendance of a solitary individual at a single mass, in the remotest district of the land, at the dead hour of night, in the

most secluded chamber, and where none could come but such as knelt before the altar for conscience's sake, and in all sincerity of soul; such worship, and its permission for an hour, was considered an open encouragement of Antichrist and idolatry. To extinguish the Mass for ever, to compel its supporters to embrace what the Kirk considered to be the purity of Presbyterian truth, and this under the penalties of life and limb, or in its mildest form of treason, banishment, and forfeiture, was considered not merely praiseworthy, but a point of high religious duty; and the whole apparatus of the Kirk, the whole inquisitorial machinery of detection and persecution was brought to bear upon the accomplishment of these great ends." The Nemesis came, and within twenty years they were themselves once more in the throes of oppression and persecution.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FULL RESTORATION OF EPISCOPACY.

The results of the Reformation in the North far less than in the South—The Catholic worship held its ground—Lament of the General Assemblies—The noble families which remained Catholic—Battle of Glenlivet—The King's retaliation and flight of the Earl of Huntly—The last Catholic service in Elgin Cathedral—Flight of the Catholic nobles—Attacks upon the King by the ministers—The *Basilikon Doron*—King James succeeds to the English throne—Determines to assimilate the religion of the two countries—Defiance of his authority in holding General Assemblies—Melville and others imprisoned—Decisions of the Assembly at Dunbar—Re-establishment of the Episcopate—Three bishops summoned to England for consecration—The archbishopric of Glasgow—Consecration of all the Scotch bishops—The King's desire to reform the Public Worship—The Articles of Perth carried in Parliament—The King's promise not to introduce any more changes—His death.

THE permanent effect produced by the religious revolution was far less in the North than in the South. At first, it is true, the whole country accepted the change, in many cases of course unwillingly, but when it was found that through lack of maintenance a great part of the Highlands was left without any one to perform spiritual functions, multitudes returned to their old allegiance, refusing to continue in the state of practical atheism to which they were abandoned. There were priests in abundance only too eager to find occupation after a period of enforced idleness, and they offered their services to any who claimed them. Among those who were receiving Catholic ministrations at the time

when the Presbyterians rose to power were the most influential of the Northern nobility; indeed no less than twenty of the great families, including the Earls of Huntly, Angus, Crawford, Errol, and Urquhart, supported the ancient religion. The records of the General Assemblies of the Kirk are full of lamentations over the prevalence of Popish worship and "the idolatry of the mass;" and confessions of their inability to grapple with the difficulty occur again and again, *e.g.*, in 1586 A.D., "Papisty abounds in the North, by reason of the want of sufficient provision for qualified ministers;" and later, they speak of their exceeding grief that so many "nourished in the Kirk of God had fearfully fallen back and become runagates and blasphemers of the truth."

The Reformers, flushed with the triumph of 1592 A.D., determined to bring against these "defiant heretics" all the weapons of persecution and oppression which the new legislation had put into their hands. In retaliation, the Catholic lords began to intrigue with Spain to send an armed force into Scotland to establish their religion, or to secure toleration for its adherents; and, in consequence of some compromising discoveries that were made, the King was obliged to take measures for the punishment of the traitors. The Earl of Argyle gathered together a force of 10,000 troops, and marched northwards to compel submission; he was met at Glenlivet by the Earl of Huntly at the head of 1500 horsemen. The latter were well-armed and well-mounted, being for the most part members or retainers of the noble families, whereas the Protestant army

was little more than a rabble, quite untrained for war. Huntly gained a complete victory ; but the King was so chagrined at the defeat of Argyle, that he equipped an expedition, and took speedy revenge upon the conqueror by reducing his magnificent castle of Strathbogie to a heap of ruins, and driving him and his friends to seek refuge in the mountain-fastnesses of Caithness. Those were inaccessible to the King's forces ; but, after hiding themselves for a whole year, "the Catholic lords," seeing no hope of success, determined to quit the country. Submission to Presbyterianism or banishment were the alternatives offered them by an edict of the King. Their determination dashed the hopes of the whole Catholic party. A final service after the old pattern was held in Elgin Cathedral, and Father Gordon made a last passionate appeal for further resistance ; but it was all in vain, and in March 1595 A.D. Huntly and Errol embarked at Peterhead and sailed for the Continent.

It was not long, however, before the King, with his wonted vacillation, determined to pardon the exiles and allow their return. His proposal was received with a perfect storm of abuse from the ministers. Andrew Melville called him "a silly vassal of God" to his face, and told him that though he was King of Scotland, he was only a member of Christ's kingdom, in which the ministers were His delegates to control the government. David Black and others denounced him in the same unmeasured terms. It was an assumption which struck at the very root of the royal supremacy, and the King resolved upon their suppres-

sion. The first keynote of alarm in the Presbyterian camp was struck by his publication of the *Basilikon Doron* in 1599 A.D.¹ It was a book of directions on government, addressed to Prince Henry, his son. In it the author advocated the supremacy of the King in matters ecclesiastical; he showed the inconsistency of Presbyterian parity with a monarchy; the necessity of Episcopacy for the well-being of Church and State; and, imitating the defamatory language of the ministers against himself, he denounced the Puritans as "very pests in the Church and commonweal," and told his son that he would "never find with any Highland or Border thieves greater ingratitude and more lies and vile perjuries than with these fanatical spirits." The whole drift of the Instruction was adverse to the dominant religion, and when a copy of it reached the Pope, he was so delighted with what he read that "he could hardly refrain from shedding tears of joy."

Four years later Queen Elizabeth died, and King James succeeded to the throne of England. A farewell service was held in St. Giles's, Edinburgh, and at the close of the sermon the King rose to address the congregation, and his words must have fallen on the ears of Presbyterians with an ominous sound, for he declared that as God had joined the trust of both kingdoms in his person, so it would be his duty to make them "one in wealth and religion." The first step towards this assimilation was taken when a few months

¹ It was brought under discussion in the Synod of Fife, and characterised as "treasonable, seditious, and wicked." Melville's "Diary," p. 444.

later, in January 1604 A.D., he summoned representatives of the Scotch Episcopalians and Presbyterians to take part in the Hampton Court Conference, in which he declared it to be his determination to have "one doctrine and one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony;" and enunciated the principle of "no bishop, no king," by a sentence that must have struck dismay into the hearts of the ministers: "A Scottish Presbytery as well agreeth with a monarchy as God and the devil."

A General Assembly of the Kirk was called at Aberdeen in July 1605 A.D., but was prorogued by the King's commission till the following year. Eventually the meeting was held in direct contravention of royal authority, and was followed by the indictment of the members for treason.¹ Six of the most important were imprisoned for fourteen months at Blackness, and afterwards banished to the Continent. Andrew Melville was committed to the Tower, and from this time there was little to check the restoration of Episcopacy. In 1610 A.D. a General Assembly was held at Glasgow, at which thirteen bishops, thirteen noblemen, and more than a hundred ministers met under the presidency of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the following principles were agreed to: that no Assembly may be called without royal authority; that Synods should be convened twice in the year, with the bishop of the diocese

¹ The question was discussed by James Melville, who insisted on their right to meet, "by the express warrant of God's Word, by the laws of their country and by the constitution of the Reformed Church." His arguments are set forth in full by Grub, "*Eccl. Hist.*," ii. 284-286.

as moderator; that excommunications and absolutions be subject to the bishop's approval; that presentations to benefices be made to the bishop; that incumbents take an oath of obedience to the King and Ordinary on admission; that the bishops should make a personal visitation of their dioceses, or appoint an efficient substitute, if prevented; that bishops be amenable for their life and conversation to the General Assembly with the King's consent; and, lastly, that ministers be prohibited from all public discussion of the questions herein decided.¹

The above decisions established the authority of the Episcopate once more in Scotland; but the King went further, and took the necessary steps for securing its full canonical validity. As soon as the Assembly had dissolved, he summoned the Archbishop of Glasgow to come to England, and bring with him any two other bishops that he thought fit; and at their first audience he made known his purpose. He had succeeded in recovering their bishoprics, but inasmuch as he had no power of himself to make them bishops, and there were not sufficient to consecrate in Scotland, he had called them to England, "that being consecrated themselves they might at their return give ordination to those at home."

In answer to some fears expressed by them that such an act might be interpreted by their countrymen

¹ Calderwood's "History," vii. 99-103; Grub, ii. pp. 293, 294. The Earl of Dunbar distributed a sum of £5000 among the ministers at the close of the proceedings. It has been made much of by the opponents of the Assembly; but though doubtless it rewarded adherents, there is no proof that they were bribed.

as a sort of subjection to the Church of England and revive the memory of old usurpations, he assured them that he had provided for this contingency, and that neither of the English archbishops, who alone were likely to pretend to supremacy in consequence, would take part in the consecration. A second difficulty was raised, but not by themselves. As there was no guarantee that they had been episcopally ordained, Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, said they must first be admitted to the priesthood. Archbishop Bancroft objected to this course being adopted on two grounds: first, that it would throw discredit upon orders in so many Reformed Churches; and, secondly, that as Episcopacy embraced the priesthood, consecration to the former *per saltum* would be perfectly valid. There was some force in the latter argument, and Andrewes gave way. Spottiswood, Lamb, and Hamilton were consecrated in the Chapel of London House by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester, on October 21, 1610 A.D.

Thus, after exactly half a century, the important See of Glasgow was again held by one in the apostolic line of succession. The last of the Roman Catholic bishops, James Beaton, had lived in exile from 1560 A.D. till his death on the King's accession to the throne of England. He had received his consecration at Rome in 1552 A.D.; but, resisting the usurpation of the Reformers, had gathered together all the writs and documents of the See, and the sacred vessels and ornaments of the Church, and fled to France. During the regency in Queen Mary's reign he had been deprived, but King James had restored him in 1598 A.D., and Parliament had ratified

his restoration, and granted the singular privilege of receiving all the honours and dignity of the office without the obligation of conforming to the Reformed religion. Archbishop Spottiswood brought back to the See the Apostolic Commission, but all the ancient muniments of the cathedral were retained by a Carthusian monastery, where Beaton had deposited them, "only to be restored when the See should again become Catholic."

Within a year from the consecration in London the King received the welcome intelligence that all the bishops of Scotland, including the Primate of S. Andrews, had been duly consecrated. He had regained for them their temporalities and civil rights; he had put into their hands full episcopal jurisdiction; and now he had completed the work of restoration by securing the Catholic heritage of the Apostolic Succession.

The King now turned his thoughts to the worship and rites of the Church, but here he was less successful. At a General Assembly at Aberdeen in 1616 A.D., two important conclusions were arrived at: first, that it was desirable to have "a Liturgy" (a term not previously used in Scotland), or Book of Common Prayer, composed for the use of the Church; secondly, that children should be duly prepared and then confirmed by the bishops on their visitations, or in their absence by their appointed delegates. The Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishop of Ross were sent to England to obtain the royal assent, but while the King heartily accepted the first, he denounced the second as a "mere hotch-potch," and ordered it to be revised. At the same time he

delivered to the deputies a peremptory order to insert some fresh rules among the ecclesiastical canons; the Archbishop, however, pointed out that to attempt such a thing without asking the consent of the Church would be certain to excite determined opposition.

The next year he became impatient, and convened an assembly at Perth for the consideration of the proposed articles, which, after a long and stormy debate, were accepted by eighty-six to forty-five votes. They are known henceforward as "the Articles of Perth." The first made it obligatory "in reverence of God, and in due regard of so divine a mystery," that the Blessed Sacrament should be received by the people, not sitting, but "meekly and reverently upon their knees." The second, that in cases of grievous sickness the Holy Communion might be administered in a private house. The third provided for private baptism in cases of emergency only, the people being encouraged to bring their children to church for the purpose. The fourth enjoined that the ministers should catechise all children of eight years old, and at the Bishop's visitation bring them to Confirmation. The fifth brought back a due and proper commemoration of the great Feasts and Fasts associated with our Blessed Lord's Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and His Mission of the Comforter.

They met with most obstinate resistance in Parliament, and were only carried on the sworn assurance of Lord Hamilton, the Royal Commissioner, that "His Highness would never burden them with any more ceremonies during his lifetime." The ratification by a majority of twenty-seven was marked by a singular

phenomenon. No sooner had the King's representative touched the Act with the sceptre, in token of the royal approval, than a thick darkness suddenly enveloped the Parliament House, followed by vivid flashes of lightning and terrific peals of thunder. It was interpreted as a sign of the Divine displeasure by the opponents of the measure, and August 4, 1621 A.D., was marked in their catalogue as "Black Saturday."

The King died on May 27, 1625, leaving it to his son to carry out his one unfulfilled desire, and impose upon the Church a new Liturgy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NATIONAL RESISTANCE TO THE AUTOCRATIC RULE OF CHARLES I.

The disappointment of the nation at the marriage of the King with a Roman Catholic—The cruel persecution of Dr. Leighton—The King's visit to Scotland—Fears excited by the ritual of his coronation, and by his favour of Episcopacy in public appointments—The nobles' dread of losing their spoils from the Reformation—The King's desire for uniformity of worship in Scotland and England—The imposition of a body of canons on the clergy—The most unpopular provisions made therein—The revised Liturgy for Scotland—Changes that created suspicions—The Genevan Liturgy, or Book of Common Order—The enforcement of the new Liturgy—Its inauguration at S. Giles', Edinburgh—The tradition of Jenny Geddes—The city placed under an interdict—Disturbances in other parts—General determination to resist.

THE accession of Charles I. was cordially welcomed by the nation. They had become wearied of the egotism and fickleness of his father, and their hopes were raised by the reputation which Charles had earned for gravity and goodness. These, however, were soon dashed by his unpardonable conduct in marrying, in violation of the national prejudice, Henrietta Maria, who belonged to the Roman religion. Scotchmen heard with dismay that it had been stipulated in the marriage contract that she and her children and domestics should be secured in the free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith; that she should have a bishop, and twenty-eight priests and monks, and a

chapel in every place where she should reside; and yet further, that she should have the entire charge of educating her children till they reached the age of thirteen years. The fears which thus began at the very opening of his reign deepened year by year. James had done much for the suppression of Presbyterianism, and for some years it had been banished into the broad remote and hidden paths of the kingdom. A new departure was taken, in 1630 A.D., by open and cruel persecution—not actually in Scotland, but against a Scottish divine—which filled the Nonconformists north of the Tweed with the gravest apprehensions. Dr. Leighton, father of the illustrious archbishop, wrote a treatise against Prelacy, and was tried before the Star Chamber, and unanimously condemned to the following punishment:—"To be committed to the Fleet Prison for life, and to pay a fine of £10,000 to the King's use; to be degraded from the ministry; to be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the Court was sitting, and be whipped, and, after his whipping, to have one of his ears cut, one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with the letters S. S., signifying 'Slave of Scotland', after a few days, to be carried to the pillory in Cheapside on a market-day, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in prison for the remainder of his life, unless his Majesty be graciously pleased to enlarge him."¹

The sentence was carried out to the very letter, and it spread the utmost consternation among the Scottish

¹ "History of the Troubles and Trials of W. Laud," p. 47.

Presbyterians, lest the King's sanction to such persecution should encourage the Northern bishops to adopt a similar course, and not a few of the most distinguished of the order fled to Ireland.

In 1633 A.D. the King visited Scotland in person. He had two purposes in view—the first to be crowned, and the second to pave the way for assimilating the worship of Scotland to that of England. He succeeded in largely alienating the loyalty and affection of his Scottish subjects by both. The coronation, which took place in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, was attended by such a display of religious pomp and pageantry, that it seemed to them a foretaste of the return of the old Roman religion, and of “abominations” which they hoped the Church of Scotland had for ever abjured. Everything was carried out by the directions of Bishop Laud, whose proclivities had for some time aroused their suspicions and most anxious forebodings. The King marked his visit by creating Edinburgh into a bishopric; and he chose a most advanced Churchman, Dr. William Forbes,¹ afterwards known and honoured as one of the chief of the Anglo-Catholic divines of the century, to fill the See. The historic Church of S. Giles was made the cathedral, and, to the discomfiture

¹ His opinions have been a subject of much controversy. Even Burnet could not withhold his appreciation of him, though he mingled with it some unjust suspicions. “A very learned and pious man, who had a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time, his way of life and devotion was thought monastic, and his learning lay in antiquity; he studied to be a reconciler between Papists and Protestants, leaning rather to the first, as appears by his *Considerationes Modestæ*; he was a very simple man, and knew little of the world, so fell into several errors in conduct, but died soon after suspected of Popery.”—*History*, i. 38.

of the Presbyterians, its internal arrangements were completely transformed to fit it for its future use.¹

The King next proceeded to an exaltation of the Episcopal office, which gave the greatest umbrage to his nobility. He appointed Spottiswoode, Archbishop of S. Andrews, to the high office of Chancellor of Scotland, which gave him precedence over all in the kingdom. In the pre-Reformation times it had been for many generations appropriated to the great ecclesiastics; but, since the degradation of Episcopacy, the dignity had been enjoyed by the laity alone. Further, the King enrolled no less than nine bishops on the list of the Privy Council. The nobles resented such an invasion of their rights, but only to meet with a greater and more serious deprivation—the loss, not merely of honour and dignity, but of their estate and property. In the plunder that followed the dissolution of the monasteries and the overthrow of Episcopacy, the lay nobles had seized the largest share of the ecclesiastical revenues. The King resolved on at least a partial restoration, and issued a commission to effect “the recovery of the tiends or tithes, for the better providing of kirks and ministers’ stipends, and other pious purposes.”²

The nobles regarded it, when taken in connection with the royal favour in raising the clergy, and with

¹ It had been divided by a wall between the nave and chancel into the Great and Little Kirk, after the common Presbyterian fashion. The wall was removed.

² The value of the tiend was fixed at one-fifth of the rental. It was a great boon to the owners of the soil, but very unpopular with the lay-titulars, who had been most oppressive. The proposal was accepted by Parliament in 1633. Cf. Tytler’s “History of Scotland,” iv. 11.

rumours of rebuilding the cathedrals, as part of a system designed to rob them of their lands, and all the property they had gained by the Reformation. It filled them with most uneasy suspicions, and became at last the very root of the rebellion. There is more truth than is generally supposed in the pregnant satire that "many of the great landowners became Protestants to get the property of the Church, and became Covenanters in order to keep it."

On the King's return to England he took steps to carry out the second purpose of his visit to Scotland. At his coronation he had consulted with such of the bishops as were present on establishing uniformity of worship in both parts of his kingdom. His father had given a pledge to the Scottish Church, through Lord Hamilton, his commissioner, that, if they would accept the Perth Articles, no further innovations would be made; and, though pressed again and again by the Catholic party, he scrupulously kept to his word, even quoting to his counsellors the fatal results that followed a breach of the royal promise on the eve of the revolution. This was even after a committee of bishops and other divines had been appointed, and had made great progress in framing a new Liturgy. Bishop Laud had throughout strongly advocated the simple imposition of the English Liturgy, just as it was; one kingdom, one uniform worship—it was a grand idea to effect such an union; but the conception would be marred, and the difficulty of realising it increased, if variations were introduced, however slight. The Scottish bishops, however, on pure patriotic grounds,

passionately opposed it; the nation, they urged, with their susceptibilities so keenly alive, would inevitably interpret it as a sign of subjection.¹ The King, who had at the beginning taken Laud's view, gave way, and requested four of the bishops—Wedderburn of Dunblane, Maxwell of Ross, Sydserff of Galloway, and Ballantyne, or Bellenden, of Aberdeen, to proceed with the compilation.

In 1636 A.D. he sent over a body of "Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, gathered and put in form for the government of the Church of Scotland, ratified and approved by his Majesty's royal warrant, and ordained to be observed by the clergy and all others whom it may concern." It was received with a storm of disapprobation, for it was issued in a wholly unconstitutional manner, solely on the authority of the royal prerogative, without consultation with any ecclesiastical court or assembly, and it claimed from the clergy, on pain of excommunication, the acceptance of a new Liturgy, which they had not only never seen, but which had yet to be framed. However much, then, the Catholic-minded party in the Church were pre-disposed in favour of the contemplated changes, they were forced into antagonism. On grounds of manifest injustice, as well as for the Erastianism it displayed, they were bound in conscience to oppose it; but the strongest opposition came from the Protestants, whose suspicions of the influence of the Laudian party were strengthened by the general spirit of the Canons. The book contained nineteen chapters. It will suffice here to

¹ Clarendon's "History," i. 166.

name a few of the provisions that made it unpopular. The first imposed the penalty of excommunication for refusing to allow to the King the same supreme authority in all ecclesiastical causes as had been exercised by the Jewish kings, or by the Christian emperors in the primitive Church. The second sanctioned the Ember seasons as the only times allowable for ordination. The sixth enjoined greater reverence in the consumption of the elements that remained after a celebration, and that the sacrament be received with bowing of the knee. The ninth ordered that no presbyter or reader was to conceive prayers *extempore*, or to use any other form in the public Liturgy than that which was prescribed, under pain of deprivation. The sixteenth ordered that the table for the Holy Communion be placed at the upper end of the church or chancel, covered with a carpet of decent stuff, and, during ministration, with a white linen cloth. The eighteenth encouraged private confession, and directed absolution to be given after the form in the Visitation of the Sick.

One great blot was held to be the entire suppression of Presbyteries and the General Assembly, which was regarded as the very bulwark of the Kirk.

Such were the Scottish Canons of 1636 A.D.¹ The opposition with which they were received necessitated the utmost expedition in compiling and publishing the proposed Liturgy. The English Liturgy was made the basis of the revision. The changes introduced were for the most part such as would provoke hostile

¹ They are printed at length in Laud's works, vol. v.

criticism, or at least be regarded with disfavour by Protestant Churchmen. There were only two exceptions : the substitution of "presbyter" in place of "priest," and the omission of daily lessons and offertory sentences taken from the Apocryphal Books.¹ For the rest, it was provided that the holy Table should be placed at the upper part of the chancel, that during the time of consecration the presbyter should stand at such part of it that he might, with more ease and decency, use both his hands. The Scotch commissioners who opposed the Liturgy laid especial stress upon this provision for the use of both hands, as a manifest encouragement to the elevation of the Host ; but the suspicion was indignantly repudiated by Laud at his trial. It was, however, a distinct advance to sanction the Catholic position "in the midst of the Altar," which had not been recovered from the disastrous revision of 1552 A.D. Again, in the words of Administration, the second of the two clauses which had been combined in the Elizabethan Prayer-book was omitted. The first clause, by itself, was considered to favour the doctrine of Transubstantiation, especially when taken in connection with two other changes. The first was what is commonly called the Invocation of the Holy Ghost. It is here an address to the Father so "to bless and sanctify with Thy word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ." It was

¹ The King had given instructions for twelve chapters to be inserted, but they were disregarded. Rushworth, ii. 243.

a most important gain, both as bringing the office into closer accord with the primitive Liturgies, and as recognising the agency of the Holy Spirit in the central act of the highest form of worship. It had, however, been erased by the Protestant reformers for its supposed countenance of transubstantiation, and its recovery shocked the prejudices of the Scotchmen, who so fully sympathised with them. The second change was the insertion of the word "corporal" in the direction to the celebrant to cover that which remained of the consecrated elements. It was, they said, the name that was given to the cloth in which a body was buried, and it seemed to lend support to the theory of a bodily or carnal presence. Again, "The Memorial," or prayer of oblation, was placed immediately after the Act of Consecration, and a dislocation thus removed which had tended to obscure very materially the sacrificial aspect of the service.

There were other changes in a Catholic direction. It will suffice to mention one of a different kind. A commemoration of the faithful departed was introduced in the Prayer for the Church, and all the chief of the Scottish saints, from S. Ninian and S. Columba to S. Margaret, found a place in the Calendar.

Such were the main characteristic features of the Liturgy that Charles I. determined to impose upon the Scottish Church.¹ Before we can realise what such an imposition meant, we must forget altogether the Service-book, with which we have been familiar, and

¹ Cf. Bulley's "Tabular View of Variations," &c., and Hamon Le-strange's "Alliance of Divine Offices."

contrast it with the Book of Common Order, or "the Genevan Liturgy," which had held its own in Scotland for nearly a hundred years, even after Episcopacy had been restored.

Knox's Order had been drawn up as a compromise between the English Reformed Prayer-book and the Service-book of the French Huguenots. One or two of its most marked characteristics were these: the prayers were not followed by any response of the congregation; there was no form of absolution, no direction for the recitation of a Creed. The Apostles' Creed was printed; but, in the absence of a rubrical order for it to be read, it soon fell into disuse, and was actually no part of Presbyterian worship. In the Holy Communion the elements were distributed by the communicants among themselves. In the Burial of the Dead all prayer was abjured, and the silence was only broken "if a minister were present," and if "there was a church not far off;" in this case, after the body had been consigned to the grave, he might repair to it and "make an exhortation touching death and resurrection." These illustrations will suffice to show how widely different the whole spirit of the new Liturgy was from that habitually in use.

The new Liturgy was completed in the autumn of 1637 A.D., and received the King's seal on the 20th of December. A proclamation was made at the market-crosses in the chief towns of Scotland, to enforce the use of the new book on pain of "horning" for all who refused. This was a public denunciation of the offender by the blast of a horn or trumpet. The

archbishops, bishops, and presbyters were ordered to see that every parish provided itself with two copies of the Liturgy before the ensuing Easter. Spottiswoode, however, as time went on, strongly urged delay, seeing grounds for serious alarm in the symptoms of hostility everywhere manifest ; but the younger bishops counselled adherence to the terms of the proclamation, and they were supported by Lord Traquair, the Treasurer. The counsels of the Archbishop ultimately prevailed, and it was not till the middle of July that a royal warrant was issued fixing the day for the introduction of the change. In Edinburgh it was resolved that the inauguration should be celebrated with great pomp and circumstance. On Sunday, July 23rd, the Archbishop of S. Andrews, as Lord High Chancellor, and the Archbishop of Glasgow, attended the Cathedral of S. Giles. The Bishop of Edinburgh was announced to preach at the opening service. Several other bishops, the lords of the Privy Council, and the magistrates of the city, all attended in their official robes. The Dean, wearing not the familiar gown but the dreaded surplice, undertook the office of reader. Every part of the sacred building was densely packed, with a large preponderance of women, and these mostly of the lower classes. No sooner were the first words of the strange service uttered than a confused murmur was heard, rising gradually to an excited clamour.

It is said that a herb-woman called Jenny Geddes ¹

¹ Burton, after investigating the traditions, decides distinctly against the historic character of the story. Janet Geddes is rightly associated with a very different event, viz., the Restoration, at which she is said to have taken a conspicuous part in the public rejoicings at Edinburgh,

cried out, "Villain, will ye say mass at my lug!" and then, seizing the "fold stool" on which she was sitting, threw it at the Dean's head. She has been honoured by the Puritans for her action, which lit the first spark of the civil war, but historical critics have failed to give her more than a mythical existence. There is no question that the riot was caused by the women in the congregation, and the introduction of a fictitious heroine has been supposed to increase the interest of the opposition, and impart vividness to the picture.

The Bishop attempted to pacify the tumult by ascending the pulpit and beginning his sermon, but he only aggravated the confusion; and it was not till the civil officers took steps to expel the chief of the rioters, that order was restored. It was only, however, of the briefest duration, for the continuance of the service was the signal for a fresh outbreak from the crowd outside, who battered the doors and broke the windows, and kept up such incessant cries of "Popery," that little else could be heard. When the service was over the Bishop was assailed in the street, and but for the timely interference of the Earl of Roxburgh, who drove him away in his carriage, attended by an armed body-guard, his life would have been endangered.

throwing her goods into the fire to increase the illuminations: "even her chair of state, where she used to dispense justice to the rest of her lankale vassals, were all orderly burned, she herself countenancing the action with a high-flown claret and vermilion majesty." Wodrow, again, dissociates her from the reading of the Liturgy, and says "it is the commonly believed tradition that it was Mrs. Mean, wife to a merchant in Edinburgh, that cast the first stool when the service was read." *Analecta*, i. 64. In the light of this information it was an ill-advised action to insert the tablet commemorating a discredited tradition at the late restoration of S. Giles' Church.

The same scene of confusion attended the introduction of the Service-book in other parts. At Brechin the Bishop determined to read the book, but, such was his fear of violence, he is said to have gone into the reading-desk armed with pistols; and when the service was over, he was so mobbed and hustled that he was compelled to seek safety in an ignominious flight. In Edinburgh it was decided, in consequence of the widespread discontent at the initiation, not to risk a repetition till the King's pleasure was ascertained; meanwhile the city was placed under an ecclesiastical interdict, all use of the churches, whether for the new or old forms of worship, being peremptorily forbidden by the Bishop.

News of the successful resistance at Edinburgh spread rapidly, and there was such a general opposition that the royal mandate was little more than a dead letter. From all parts of the kingdom the Presbyterians flocked into the capital, hoping by united action to obtain its repeal. We shall see hereafter how far they succeeded.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NATIONAL COVENANT.

Petitions against the late innovations — The arbitrary conduct of the King and the danger of Popery being revived—Proclamations of the Privy Council—Riots created by them—The Privy Council consent to the formation of four committees called “the Tables” —The efforts of Lord Traquair to effect a reconciliation—A royal proclamation counteracted by a protestation from the Tables— —Determination to renew the Covenant of 1580—The text of the most important clauses—The legality of the document disputed—A Presbyterian view of the question—Circumstances attending the signing of the Covenant—The scenes in Greyfriars’ Churchyard—Steps taken to insure a general acceptance in the country—Opposition at Aberdeen—The Negative Confession—The flight of the bishops—The King’s obstinacy—His Commissioner intimidated—The Covenanters’ terms—Meeting of the General Assembly—Influence of the laity—Attacks upon the bishops—The Royal Commissioner disapproves of the proceedings and dissolves the Assembly—His authority defied, and a series of revolutionary Acts passed—The second Reformation.

THE autumn of the year 1637 A.D. was spent in drawing up and presenting petitions against the late innovations. The Privy Council were inundated with them, and perplexed beyond measure: on one side they were being peremptorily ordered by the King to see that his laws and injunctions were enforced; on the other they were met by an outburst of popular feeling, which could only be disregarded with peril to the throne. When the capital was thronged with petitioners, the Duke of Lennox, an influential nobleman and cousin of the King, happened to pass through the city on his way to London. His services were at once

enlisted to make known the grievances of his countrymen, and he left Edinburgh laden with no less than sixty-seven petitions, signed by as many groups and classes of supplicants. The burden of all was mainly this: the innovations had been introduced on the sole authority of the King, without any sanction of or even consultation with the national Parliament or the General Assembly; such procedure put a strain upon the people's loyalty, and imperilled their civil and religious liberties. In addition to the above constitutional grievance, it was also objected that the changes which the King proposed were calculated to revive Popery, which Scotland had abandoned for ever at the first Reformation.¹

The only redress they obtained was the publication by the Privy Council of three proclamations at the bidding of the sovereign. The first called upon the crowds who had gathered in Edinburgh to disperse to their homes, under pain of rebellion and forfeiture of their goods; the second threatened the removal of the seat of government to one of the provincial towns; the third denounced a book which had been written against "the intrusion of English-Popish Ceremonies obtruded on the Church of Scotland,"² and had gained a very wide popularity. They were read on October 17 in the market-place,³ and so stirred the indignation of the people, that they broke out into riot and tumult.

¹ Specimens of the supplications are given in Rushworth, ii. 394, and Rothes' "Relation," p. 48.

² This was written by Gillespie in vindication of Scottish simplicity of ritual.

³ The proclamation published in Rushworth, ii. 401-2.

They vented their fury upon Sydserff, the Bishop of Galloway, who happened to be passing through the streets when the reading was just over. No worse charge was made out against him than that he wore a crucifix, but in their excitement that was enough; and had he not found a timely refuge in the Council-chamber, they would have taken his life. The interposition of the most popular of the Privy Councillors failed altogether to pacify their anger, and the tumult was only quelled by an appeal for help to the leaders of the opposition.

A whole month passed without any more definite action being taken, but a rumour having spread through the country that the King would reply to the petitions on November 17, there was a still further influx into the city. The Privy Council, seeing the inevitable result if such masses continued to congregate, entered into negotiations with the chief malcontents, who agreed to disperse the multitudes provided the Government would recognise certain committees of their representatives, who should be formally chosen for the purpose. The Council in an unguarded moment gave their assent, and in so doing signed the death-warrant of their own authority. Four committees were at once chosen: the first was composed of all the noblemen who were opposed to the late innovations; the second, of one lesser baron or gentleman from each county; the third, of one minister from every presbytery; the fourth, of a burgher from every municipal town. Out of each committee one was chosen to act as delegate; and the four were authorised to hold their sittings in

proximity to the Council-chamber, that they might be easy of access in advising the Government. Such was the formation of "the Tables," or "the Green Tables," as they were often called ; and such was their influence that they soon superseded the constituted authority, and drew into their own hands the practical control of the State.

At this crisis the Earl of Traquair, one of the leading Privy Councillors, made a determined effort to bring about a reconciliation. He was known to be in the secrets of the King, and he offered to the discontented leaders that he would guarantee the withdrawal of the obnoxious Service-book, if only they would acknowledge their errors and make public submission to their sovereign ;¹ but, fortified by high legal opinion, they declined altogether to allow that their protests were any violation of law or royal authority ; and feeling that further resistance was useless, he repaired to London to make known to the King the critical condition, which could no longer be ignored. But the King was unshaken in his determination. It is generally supposed that he was strengthened in it by the advice of Spottiswoode and Laud. He drew up a proclamation in which he took upon himself the whole responsibility of introducing the Liturgy, censured the remonstrants, and called upon them to show their loyalty by complying with his orders. Though Traquair was anxious to delay the publication and to conceal its purport till the Council met at Stirling, information was given to the commissioners of "the Tables," who immediately compiled "a protestation," and took steps to have it

¹ Cf. Rothes' "Relation," p. 44.

read whenever and wherever the royal proclamation should be published. At Stirling the herald of the Privy Council, when he ascended the steps of the Cross to read, found himself confronted by Lords Lindsay and Home with the protest in their hands, and surrounded by several hundreds of remonstrants. The same scene was repeated at Linlithgow and at Edinburgh. The tenor of the protest may be gathered from two clauses, which showed a determination to defend "the true religion and laws and liberties of the kingdom," and to decline all authority or interference "of the common adversaries, the bishops." The enthusiasm it kindled in the capital was so great that it led to a renewal of the Covenant. This had been drawn up to allay a national panic in 1580 A.D., when Popery seemed on the eve of being restored. For the present emergency it was greatly enlarged and set forth in three parts. The first was simply the text of the original Confession, as it had been signed and sealed by King James;¹ the second was a recital of a long series of Acts of Parliament in support of the reformed religion; and the third embodied the solemn determination of the people to defend the true religion and resist all innovations. It was this final portion which satisfied the popular craving for an unmistakable demonstration of their Protestant sentiments, and the composition of it was entrusted to Henderson of Leuchars; but what he wrote was finally

¹ It had been drawn up in a reign of terror, when there was every expectation of a restoration of the Papacy, and it was described as "a marvel of bitter eloquence." Burton's "History of Scotland," vi. 483.

revised by Lords Balmerino, Rothes, and Loudon. The following are some of its most important clauses : “ We, noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers, and commons, subscribing hereto, considering divers times before and especially at this time the danger of the true reformed religion, of the King’s honour, and of the public peace, by the manifold innovations and evils generally contained and mentioned in our late supplications, complaints, and protestations, do hereby profess, and, before God, His angels, and the world, solemnly declare that with our whole heart we agree and resolve all the days of our life constantly to adhere to and defend the aforesaid true religion, and forbearing the practice of all innovations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the Kirk or civil places, and power of kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed in free assemblies and in Parliament, to labour, by all means lawful, to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel as it was established and professed before the aforesaid innovations. And because after due examination we plainly and undoubtedly believe that the innovations and evils contained in our supplications have no warrant of the Word of God, are contrary to the articles of the Confession, to the intension and meaning of the blessed reformers of religion in this land, to the above written Acts of Parliament. . . . We promise and swear by the great name of the Lord our God to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion, and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these con-

trary errors and corruptions. . . . In like manner, with the same heart, we declare, before God and men, that we have no intention nor desire to attempt anything that may turn to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the King's greatness and authority ; but on the contrary, we promise and swear that we shall, to the uttermost of our powers, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign the King's majesty, his person and authority in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom ; as also to the mutual defence and assistance every one of us of another, in the same cause of maintaining the true religion and his Majesty's authority, with our best counsel, our bodies, means, and whole powers, against all sorts of persons whatsoever. . . . Neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries, from their craft and malice, would put upon us ; . . . and because we cannot look for a blessing from God upon our proceedings, except with our profession and subscription we join such a life and conversation as beseemeth Christians who have renewed their covenant with God, we therefore faithfully promise ourselves, our followers, and all others under us, both in public and in our particular families, and personal carriage, to endeavour to keep ourselves within the bounds of Christian liberty, and to be good examples to others of all godliness, soberness, and righteousness, and of every duty we owe to God and man ; and that this our union and conjunction may be observed without violation, we

call the living God, the Searcher of our hearts, to witness, Who knoweth this to be our sincere desire and unfeigned resolution, as we shall answer to Jesus Christ on the great day, and under the pain of everlasting wrath, and of infamy and loss of all honour and respect in this world; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by His Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with a happy success, that religion and righteousness may flourish in the land to the glory of God, and the honour of the King, and peace and comfort of us all."

One remarkable feature in the document is the studied profession of loyalty to the King, which it is difficult to reconcile with the purpose for which it was written, viz., to thwart and oppose him. Many attempts have been made to prove that the covenant was a perfectly legal document, and it is difficult to gainsay it; the highest authority, the Lord Advocate of the day, gave this as his decided opinion; but even though its legality has been questioned, its justification has been strongly defended. The defence has been vigorously summed up by a Presbyterian writer as follows: "It is difficult to understand how law should sanction such a league; but to quote law in such cases is mere pedantry. There are times when law must be set aside—when man assumes his natural rights. The King had violated the law of the land: why should not the people? The King had attempted, in defiance of the constitution, to force an obnoxious Liturgy upon the nation: why should not the nation band itself together, and defy him to do it? Is the monarch made for the nation, or

the nation for the monarch? Is the will of the one, or the will of the many, to be supreme? Should the people, for fear of violating some statute, and giving pain to some men in high places, sit still and allow their religion and liberties to be trampled on? Had the covenant not been subscribed, it is certain the Liturgy would have been introduced, the Canons enforced, and the heel of arbitrary power placed on the neck of the country. This is its justification.”¹

We are in entire sympathy with the principle here laid down; and, however much we may regret that the will of the nation was against the spirit of the Catholic Church, we may not condemn the recourse to a covenant. We cannot, however, withhold our condemnation of the ostentatious language in which they professed a loyal allegiance to their King, when, by their very act and deed, they were throwing it off. If their language received a literal interpretation, it would make the covenant self-contradictory.

Among the many remarkable scenes which Edinburgh has witnessed, none has exceeded in interest, and in momentous and far-reaching issues, the signing of the National Covenant. A public Fast was proclaimed, and on February 28 a vast congregation assembled in the historic Church of Greyfriars in preparation for the ceremony. Rothes, Loudon, Henderson, Dickson, and Johnstone were entrusted with the bond, and commissioned to superintend the signatures. Henderson opened the proceedings with a prayer of much earnestness and warmth of feeling;

¹ Cunningham's "Church History of Scotland," i. 529.

Loudon followed with a stirring exhortation, calling up the memory of the bonds and covenants by which their venerated fathers had united in the past to meet the dangers that threatened them; and, taking up the language of the document, as though his conscience were smiting him, disclaimed once more even the semblance of treason and disloyalty; then, amidst a silence that could be felt, Johnstone unrolled the parchment and read aloud its contents. The reading was followed by a long and solemn pause; it was not, it is said, "a pause of irresolution, but of diffidence," no one thinking himself worthy to subscribe first to the sacred bond. At last the aged Earl of Sutherland came forward, and, lifting up his hand, as Scotchmen do on swearing before God, wrote his name. It was the signal for an outburst of enthusiasm, and the rest pressed eagerly to follow his example, as far as possible preserving the order of "the Tables"—noblemen first, the country gentlemen next, then the ministers, and last, the burgesses. When all within the sacred building had signed, the bond was carried out into the churchyard, where crowds were waiting on the utmost stretch of expectation, and it was spread upon one of the level grave-stones. The scene became even more striking in the open air, for the people were seized with a spirit of uncontrolled fanaticism, weeping aloud for joy; some added after their signatures "till death," others even "drew their blood, and used it as ink to under-write their names;" and then, as the darkness closed in upon this weird spectacle, they stood once more, amidst the graves of their ancestors, with uplifted hands, and, with

an united voice, declared that "they had joined themselves to the Lord in an everlasting covenant that shall not be forgotten."

Steps were immediately taken to make it in deed, as well as in name, a National Covenant. Copies of it were distributed through every part of the country, and almost everywhere it was received apparently with the same enthusiasm. Aberdeen was an exception. There the people, chiefly through the influence of the Marquis of Huntly, preserved their allegiance to the King, and refused to sign. The opposition of Aberdeen was considered so serious by "the Tables" that they sent an embassy of some of the most important Covenanters, including the Earl of Montrose, to win over the citizens. The magistrates, according to a time-honoured custom, received them with what was called "the courtesy of the town," or "the cup of Bon-accord." It consisted of a supply of wine and refreshments. The deputation declined to accept it till the burghers had signed the Covenant. The latter stood firm, and distributed the feast they had prepared to the poor of the city. The doctors of the university drew up their reasons for resisting the claims of "the Tables," and the controversy waxed warm. Demands and replies passed and repassed again and again without concession on either side. The deputation returned completely discomfited. After they had left, however, a great effort was made to obtain signatures to "the Negative Confession," as it had been proposed by the King, and in all nearly 30,000 signed, the bulk of them in Aberdeen and the neighbourhood.

In the University of Glasgow the professors and doctors withheld their signatures from the covenant; but if the numbers who actually signed are a true index of the nation's will, Scotland was well-nigh unanimous. How far they may be so considered is a disputed point, for, on the one hand, it is asserted that the leaders of the covenant were so deeply impressed with the solemnity of the act, that subscriptions were even refused, where it was suspected that persons were joining from fear of man and not for love of the cause; but, on the other hand, there is most convincing evidence that intimidation was used in many places, and that those who withheld their support were often subjected to odium, if not actual ill-treatment.

When Spottiswoode, Archbishop of S. Andrews, arrived in Edinburgh, and heard of the transport of joy with which the Covenant had been received, he exclaimed, "Now is all our labour of the last thirty years destroyed in a day;" and, without waiting to meet the storm, he fled with the majority of the bishops across the border to England.

The Privy Council hastened to inform the King of what had been done, strongly advocating concessions. The Covenanters also, for such is the title henceforward adopted in place of petitioners or supplicants, sent commissioners to make known their demands; but, such was his obstinacy, he even returned the document with its seal unbroken. At length he chose one of his most trusty courtiers, the Marquis of Hamilton, and sent him to mediate. His instructions were to promise that the Canons and Liturgy would only

be imposed in a legal way, and that the High Commission should be so modified that the grievance would be removed, but this only on condition that the Covenant be disclaimed within six weeks; failing this, he would send an armed force to compel obedience. The Covenanters heard beforehand of the purport of his mission, and took steps to overawe him by a display of their strength. They sent a deputation to Leith to meet the ambassador, and on his way to Holyrood he was made to pass through huge multitudes, amounting to several thousands, amongst whom were five hundred ministers in their cloaks and bands, prepared with an address calling upon him, "for the honour of God, the contentment of the King, the good of the Kirk, the peace of the kingdom, and the joy of all the reformed churches, to quench this fire, to cut away the occasions of division, to purge the House of God, and give satisfaction to grieved souls according to their supplication."

The Covenanters set down in writing the least they would be satisfied with. It involved the unreserved withdrawal of the Canons and Liturgy, and the dissolution of the High Commission, and liberty to summon a free Parliament and General Assembly. All Hamilton's efforts to overreach or overawe the Covenanters failed, and the King yielded so far as to give his assent to their demands, if they would substitute the covenant of 1580 A.D. for that which they had lately signed. The only notice, however, that they took of it was to disregard the conditions and summon a General Assembly, to which the King's Commissioner

offered no further opposition than to insist upon its being held, not in Edinburgh, but in Glasgow, where he relied upon his own personal influence to modify the counsels of the Covenanters.

No General Assembly had met for twenty years, and none since 1597 A.D. without regal interference. There was an important innovation, or rather revival of a custom which had long passed into desuetude, by which lay elders were allowed to vote for the clerical commissioners. It gave an overwhelming influence to the lay element, and enabled them to reject such of the clergy as were favourable to Episcopacy. The dislike of the laity to the bishops had grown out of pure selfishness. The King had expressed his intention of restoring to the Sees the lands which the nobles had seized, and nothing but the overthrow of Episcopacy would secure them in their present possession.

Having succeeded so far, the "Tables" proceeded to formulate a series of charges against the bishops. These were divided into two classes. Under the first they were accused of ecclesiastical offences, of advocating Arminian and Popish doctrines, of claiming unwarrantable authority and jurisdiction, of arrogating to themselves the power of ordination, and of introducing the Canons and Service-book, and supporting the High Commission. Under the second class they were charged with almost every moral offence that is possible to man, of "excessive drinking, whoring, playing at cards and dice, swearing, profane speaking, excessive gaming, profanity of the Sabbath, contempt of the public ordinances and private family exercises,

mocking of the power of preaching, prayer, and spiritual conference ; besides, of bribery, simony, lies, perjuries, dishonest dealing in civil bargains, abusing of their vassals, and even of adultery and incest.”¹ Such an indictment for the most flagrant and wholesale immorality brought, not against individuals, but a class of men in the highest position, and some of them certainly of absolutely unimpeachable character, must condemn for ever the leading Covenanters of trying, by the basest injustice, to prejudice the ignorant, and compass the overthrow of the hated Episcopacy. At length the appointed day, November 21, arrived, and the General Assembly was opened in the Cathedral Church of S. Kentigern, at Glasgow. Hamilton, as Royal Commissioner, occupied the chair of state, surrounded by the Privy Council ;² opposite him were the Moderator and clerk, and the rest of the members—ministers, 140 ; lay elders, 98—sitting in order, rank, or dignity.³ Their seats were placed upon the floor of the Cathedral, or in specially arranged tiers, while the galleries were crowded with spectators. Henderson of Leuchars was elected Moderator, after a long discussion ; it was not that there was any doubt of his pre-eminent fitness for the office, but from an unwillingness to lose his services in meeting the arguments of the Aberdeen professors and doctors, which the Covenanters were afraid of. Johnstone of Warrington

¹ Cf. *Large Declaration*, pp. 209-219.

² The chief were Argyll, Moray, Perth, Glencairn, Lauderdale, and Angus.

³ Among the nobility were Montrose, Lothian, Cassilis, Balmerino, Rothes, and Loudon.

was appointed clerk. The first question that engaged the attention of the Assembly was a protest of the bishops against the action of "the Tables" in presuming to sit in judgment upon them. When it was put to the vote by the Moderator, whether it should be received or not, the King's Commissioner intervened to stay the proceedings; and, after showing the injustice of citing persons to be tried by men who had already precondemned them, he invoked the King's prerogative, and dissolved the Assembly. "The lords of the clergy," he said, "have appealed to the King as supreme judge over all causes, civil and ecclesiastical, therefore I will not suffer their cause to be reasoned here any further." Having said this, he quitted the Cathedral.

As soon as he had left, Henderson rose, and asked, with considerable emotion, whether his decision should be accepted, or their deliberations should proceed. The votes were overwhelmingly in favour of the latter course, and, encouraged by the result, he asked for their votes on the question of judging the bishops, and the affirmative was carried with few dissentients. Then followed in rapid succession a series of revolutionary measures. The Acts of the General Assembly in favour of Episcopacy of 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, and 1618 were all annulled as having been illegally passed; the Five Articles of Perth, the Canons, the Liturgy, and Book of Ordination, and the High Commission were condemned as destitute of civil and ecclesiastical authority; all Episcopacy different from that of a pastor over a particular flock was abjured, all

the accusations alleged against the bishops were held to have been proved, and the Moderator was bidden to pronounce sentence upon them. Eight were excommunicated and deposed; four were deposed from all exercise of their office; two were allowed to preside as ministers over individual congregations. The majority found a place of refuge in England, most of them reduced to poverty and distress, and some surviving their deposition but a few years. Diocesan Episcopacy having been thus abolished, Presbyterianism was set up with all its development of kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and assemblies, in accordance with the Book of Discipline; and then, on December 20, Henderson closed the session, it is said, though not on contemporary authority, with the remarkable benediction, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." Thus ended what is called in Scotland the Second Reformation.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

The Covenanters take up arms against the King—The religious character of the war—Encampment at Dunse Law—Peace made—The General Assembly meets at Edinburgh—The King burns the Articles of Pacification—The Covenanters drawn into alliance with the English Puritans—Negotiations between the two parties—The Solemn League and Covenant—Laid before the Westminster Assembly—Members of the Assembly—Assessors—Place of meeting—Scottish ministers and lay-elders made an independent committee—The influence exercised by them in the debates—The Assembly enforce the Solemn League, and Parliament ratifies it—The Directory for Public Worship—Changes involved in all the offices—Provisions for Church government—A new Confession of Faith—A Catechism—The results of the Assembly still regarded as “standards” of faith and worship.

THE open defiance of the General Assembly had made civil war inevitable, and the Covenanters took immediate steps to do what the King had already been doing for some months, and made preparations for it. The nobles summoned their vassals to take up arms, and in a short time a large force was collected, consisting mainly of ploughmen and shepherds from Argyll, Fife, Ayrshire, Galloway, and Teviotdale. They placed Leslie in command, and his services in the training and discipline of the rawest of recruits were most effective; he had gained considerable experience and distinction in the German wars under Gustavus Adolphus, and he inspired his followers with confidence and enthusiasm. They marched to

the border, and encamped on a hill at Dunse Law. The camp must have presented a remarkable appearance; there had been no time to equip the soldiers, and their dresses and accoutrements were of the most varied description. Everything was done to impart a religious character to the movement. At the door of every captain's tent a banner was set up with the arms of Scotland emblazoned on it, side by side with the legend, "For Christ's crown and covenant." To every company a minister was attached, armed with a sword, and with pistols at his saddle, but to be used only in self-defence; and morning and evening the regiment was summoned to join in prayer and listen to his exhortations on the high privilege of fighting for God and freedom. The King was dismayed when he came within sight of the vast array, amounting to 20,000 men, and he hesitated to come to an engagement; the insurgents, too, feared to invade England, and so they remained watching each other from either side of the border. At length terms of peace were proposed and accepted, the Covenanters undertaking to surrender their fortresses and disband, and the King consenting to summon a Parliament and General Assembly. He promised to hold them in person; but when the time came he was unable to face the humiliation, and appointed Lord Traquair to act as his Commissioner. The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on August 12, 1639, A.D., and, out of deference to the King's concessions, agreed to regard their previous Assembly as illegal, but proceeded *de novo* to pass every act which had received their previous consent. They then

brought under consideration a book entitled the "Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland," which had been published in the name of the King. Balcanquhal, Dean of Durham, was known to have drawn it up, and, ignoring the royal *imprimatur*, the Assembly condemned the reputed author for having written things dishonourable to God, the Church, and the kingdom, and made asseverations most grossly false and unjust. Before the Assembly closed the National Covenant was pronounced obligatory, and the Commissioner undertook to obtain its ratification in the ensuing Parliament. But before this was done, Charles again determined to take up arms, and, burning the Articles of Pacification, declared his Scottish subjects to be in a state of rebellion. He was unsuccessful, and again made peace, conceding everything that his adversaries demanded. In England the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud were impeached, and their conduct in encouraging the King to override the will of the Scottish Church and people was the chief article of impeachment.

The success of the rebellion in Scotland encouraged the discontented in England, and an appeal to arms to uphold the royal prerogative south of the Tweed became necessary. Such, however, was the loyalty of the English that the King would in all probability have triumphed, had not the Puritans made common cause with the Covenanters and drawn Scotland into alliance.

When the General Assembly was sitting in the autumn of 1643 A.D., a deputation arrived from the

English Parliament appealing for help. They stated that they were anxious to enjoy the religious blessings which the Covenanters had won for Scotland, and that they had begun the extirpation of Popery by expelling the bishops from the House of Lords,¹ and appointing an Assembly of divines to settle their faith and worship upon a Protestant basis. The overthrow of Episcopacy in England proved an irresistible bait to the northern Presbyterians, and the Assembly proceeded at once to the formation of the terms of alliance. "The Solemn League and Covenant" was drawn up by Henderson, submitted to the General Assembly, and sanctioned by the Estates Convention, which was sitting at the time. The English Commissioners expressed a strong preference for a civil league; but the Covenanters insisted that, unless it were distinctly religious, they would take no part in it.

The bond exercised such a potent influence that it is impossible even in a brief history to omit the terms of it. The following clauses will give what is necessary for a proper understanding of its provisions: "We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, living under one king and being of one reformed religion, . . . have resolved to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself with our hands lifted up to the Most High God, do swear:—

¹ They were readmitted to their seats at the Restoration in April 1660 A.D.

“i. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour the preservation of the reformed religion in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government against our common enemies, . . . and shall endeavour to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, directory for worship, and catechising.

“ii. That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy, that is, Church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy.

“iii. We shall with the same sincerity endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliament, and the liberties of the kingdoms: and to preserve and defend the King’s majesty’s person and authority, . . . that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty.

“iv. We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, . . . that they may be brought to public trial and receive condign punishment.

“v. We shall also, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant . . . against all opposition, halts, and impediments whatsoever. . . . This covenant we make in the presence of

Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed: most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by His Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our proceedings with such success as may be deliverance and safety to His people, and encouragement to other Christian Churches, groaning under or in danger of the yoke of anti-Christian tyranny, to join in the same or like association to the glory of God, the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths."¹

The English Commissioners conveyed the covenant to England, and it was at once laid before the Westminster Assembly. This was a great gathering of divines, appointed by the two Houses of Parliament on June 12, 1643 to meet and draw up for their approval a new creed and form of public worship. Originally it was intended for England alone, but after the return of the embassy from Scotland its scope was enlarged, and as well in its deliberations as in its results it became most emphatically Scottish. It was the voices of Scotchmen which, though few in number, were most powerful in influence; and the acts and constitution enforced by the Assembly have been clung to in Scotland with almost unswerving consistency, though the English nation altogether repudiated them.

The Assembly was composed of 151 members, at least this number was originally chosen: 10 lords,

¹ Hetherington's "History of the Westminster Confession," pp. 128-132.

20 commons, and 121 ministers. Among the last were four or five bishops,¹ but as soon as it became known that the King had issued a prohibition of the Assembly, the majority of the Episcopalians, who all sided with the King, felt themselves precluded from taking part in the deliberations. It has often been considered a matter of regret that no bishop's voice was heard in the debates, but with a confident belief that in an Assembly so constituted a fair hearing was out of the question, regret must yield to satisfaction that the Church by their withdrawal is acquitted from all participation in such revolutionary counsels. The one bishop, Dr. Featley, who determined to remain found himself hopelessly impotent; he was regarded with constant suspicion, and within a short time, on a fictitious charge of revealing secrets, was committed to prison. About thirty lay-members were chosen to act as assessors, and three scribes appointed to keep the minutes, and record the history of the Council. A variety of circumstances so thinned the ranks of the selected members, that when they met on July 1 in Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey only sixty-nine answered to their names.

The deputation which Parliament sent to Scotland invited the Scotch Church to appoint some delegates to take part in the deliberations. The invitation was accepted, and five commissioners, with three lay elders, were chosen. On their arrival at Westminster, they at once realised that the influence of such a small con-

¹ Hetherington gives four—Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, Brownrigg of Exeter, Nicholson of Gloucester, and Westfield of Bristol. Fuller says that one of the bishops countenanced the Assembly, iii. 448.

tingent would be unappreciable, if they were merged as mere individual units in the general mass. They claimed to represent the interests of a Church of equal importance with that of the majority, and their claim was so far allowed that they were constituted an independent committee, empowered to consult with the Assembly on all matters affecting the faith and worship of both kingdoms. The ministers chosen were Henderson, Baillie, Rutherford, Gillespie, and Douglas; the lay elders, the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Maitland, and Johnstone of Warrington; but of these Douglas and Cassilis never sat in the Assembly. A study of the history of this remarkable gathering, remarkable both for the wide and prolonged interest it excited, and for the deep and lasting impression it left upon the Scottish Church, shows that, with few exceptions, none exerted more influence on the debates than the Scottish ministers; and they deserve, each one of them, at least a passing notice of their special works and characteristics.

Alexander Henderson was, unquestionably, the most eminent. He had been a student of S. Salvador's College at a time when the university was at the height of its reputation, and he filled an important chair as teacher of philosophy. At Leuchars, to the pastorate of which he had been appointed in face of great opposition, he won over the people by his zeal and liberality; and when the arbitrary conduct of Charles I. stirred the resistance of the Covenanters, he was recognised on all hands as their most powerful champion, and it was under his inspiring influence

that the General Assembly of 1638 A.D. hurled defiance at the King's representative. In the Westminster Assembly his calmness and readiness to weigh every argument that seemed worthy of consideration gave him the greatest influence. It has been often asserted that in the long controversy in which he became engaged with the King, upon the principles of Presbyterianism, he was worsted and died of grief. That he was unable to shake the foundations of Episcopacy on which his Majesty took his stand we can well believe, but that he allowed his discomfiture to prey upon his mind to a fatal extent is in open contradiction to that evenness of temper and disposition which was his main characteristic.

Baillie was chiefly distinguished for his vast stores of knowledge, and such a quick, retentive memory, that he was ready at all times, and without any apparent effort, to produce what he knew. Though he rarely intervened spontaneously in the Westminster debates, his knowledge was often laid under tribute, and it made him almost a final court of appeal in disputed matters of history. He carried on a vast correspondence, and has left behind him his "Letters and Journals," which place before the reader, in a vivid and attractive manner, the times and events in the midst of which he passed his life. He was a consistent Presbyterian, and when the tide of affairs changed, and his adversaries returned to power, though, in admiration for his ability and character, they vehemently pressed him to accept a bishopric, he never wavered in his convictions.

Samuel Rutherford, "the true Saint of the Covenant,"¹ filled the Chair of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, and his love of study was so great that he only allowed himself four or five hours' sleep in the night; and with his learning he combined a singularly devotional habit of mind. It was said of his life at Anwoth, to the pastorate of which he was subsequently appointed: "He is always praying, always preaching, always entreating, always visiting the sick, always catechising, always writing and studying." He contributed largely to the controversial questions of the day, writing not only against Episcopacy but against Antinomianism and the principles of the Independents. His chief work was "*Lex Rex: a Plea for the People's Rights*," which, at the Restoration, was condemned and publicly burnt; and so great was its influence on the side of democracy that, in all probability, he would have shared the fate of his treatise, had he not died before the spirit of persecution made itself felt. He was buried in the churchyard of the cathedral of S. Andrews; and so great was the esteem in which he had been held, that, "like a mediæval saint, he has attracted round him the godly, who desired that they might be laid even where his body was buried."

Gillespie was, in some respects, the most striking of the four. But for the brevity of his career his part in those eventful times would have been unsurpassed

¹ It is right to say that this estimate is not given by an unanimous verdict. He has been accused of coarseness of language, but it is palliated if not justified by the manners of the age in which he lived. The balance of evidence is largely in his favour, hence we have not hesitated to write as above.

for the ability and power it manifested. His attack upon King Charles and Laud in "English Popish Ceremonies" is full of learning; and in the Westminster Assembly, notwithstanding his youth, he encountered the arguments not only of the Episcopalians but of Selden and Lightfoot on the side of Erastianism, and of Goodman and Nye in favour of the Independents. He had the chief hand in framing all the most important works of the Assembly—the Directory, the Catechisms, and the Confession of Faith. His constitution, which was a weak one, broke down under the strain of the prolonged sessions, and he left Westminster only to die. He has been described as "one of that peculiar class of men who start like meteors into sudden splendour, shine with dazzling brilliancy, then suddenly set behind the tomb, leaving their compeers equally to admire and to deplore." He died at the early age of twenty-six.

Such were the men whom the General Assembly selected to represent the principles of Presbyterianism to the English divines, and it cannot be disputed that they proved themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them. It is not too much to say that they stamped the form and impress of their belief upon the whole work of the Conference.

The first important debate was upon "the Solemn League and Covenant," which all the sitting members and 228 members of the Houses of Lords and Commons accepted and signed. Charles I. denounced it as "a traitorous and seditious combination" against the King and the established religion, and he charged his

subjects to prove their allegiance by rejecting it, but Parliament issued an edict commanding every one above the age of eighteen to sign. After this was concluded the divines turned their attention to public worship, in obedience to the bidding of Parliament that they should draw up "a Directory for the public worship of God throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland." They were unanimous in their determination to abolish "the great idol of England, the Service-book," and their debates upon this question were soon brought to a close by the publication of "The Directory," which entirely superseded the English Reformed Liturgy, as well as "The Book of Common Order," or the Genevan Liturgy, as it was sometimes strangely called, which had been in use in Scotland since the revolutionary changes of John Knox. It provided no forms or ceremonies whatever, indicating always the tenor of the service, in no case expressing the words to be used. In the ordinary services it sacrificed the fundamental principle of worship by reducing the element of praise to a wholly subordinate position, and raising prayer and the ordinance of preaching to the greatest prominence. Abundant provision was made for the exercise of what the Presbyterians so highly valued, "the gift of prayer," and numerous suggestions were offered for the minister's guidance as to the subjects of his petitions. Detailed rules also were drawn up for the character of his sermons.

In the special services of Baptism and the Holy Communion it largely depreciated sacramental doctrine, by

eliminating from the former all idea of "regeneration," and regarding the rite simply as a "seal" for those who were already in a state of grace; and in the latter, by substituting the Scriptural account of the institution to be read as "a lesson of edification" in place of "the Prayer of Consecration." The mode of reception was keenly discussed. The Independents pleaded for liberty to receive in their pews; the Presbyterians, strongly urged by the Scottish commissioners, advocated the obligation of gathering round the table on seats; and it was finally ordained that this "should be so conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it or at it." Perhaps, however, one of the saddest changes was in the Burial service, in which anti-Catholic prejudices carried the divines to such a pitch of bigotry, that they forbade the use of any prayer whatever, and only allowed silence to be broken in order to put the people "in remembrance of their duty."

In the Ordination-service, which led to prolonged discussion, it was decided that "none but preaching presbyters had power to ordain."

The Directory was completed in the autumn of 1644 A.D., and received at once the full ratification of Parliament.¹

When this was completed the Assembly took in hand "the Form of Church Government." Upon this point there was more decided difference of opinion than upon any other; the Erastians and the Indepen-

¹ For fuller details, cf. Luckock's "Studies in the History of the Prayer-Book," Appendix IV., pp. 226-238.

dents contended vigorously against the views of the Presbyterians, but the last, mainly through the influence of the Scottish members, who represented the Church in all its traditions, vehemently opposed to the interference of the State, eventually established the principles of government on strictly Presbyterian lines.

For the control of the Church generally they ordered three kinds of assemblies—congregational, classical, and synodical—rising in degrees of importance. The first consisted of those members of the Church who worshipped together in any particular district; the second, of ministers and other church governors; the third, of provincial, national, or œcumenical gatherings. In providing for the ministry they drew a distinction between the extraordinary officers appointed by the Head of the Church, such as apostles, evangelists, and prophets, and the ordinary ministry of pastors, teachers, and deacons. The former ceased with the first generation, the latter were intended as a perpetual ordinance.

The Assembly next proceeded to compile a "Confession of Faith." Though it extended to no less than thirty-two chapters, it involved no such protracted controversy or divergence of principle as the preceding subject. Perhaps its most marked characteristic is the full and complete acceptance of Calvinistic doctrine in the matter of divine decrees; and in this respect it reflects the mind of the Scotch reformers, inherited from John Knox, who succeeded in impressing on his countrymen the ineffaceable stamp which he had himself received at Geneva. Time had deepened

the impression, for the Westminster Confession is more definitely predestinarian even than that which Knox had compiled when fresh from the school of Calvin in 1560 A.D.

The last result of the Westminster Assembly was a Catechism in two parts—the shorter for the poor and ignorant, the larger for the more educated. With this their labours were drawn to a close on February 22, 1649 A.D.¹ They had been sitting for five days in the week, with rare intermissions, for upwards of five years, and had held no less than 1163 sessions. The Scottish commissioners hastened home, well satisfied with the part they had been enabled to take in all the deliberations; they had entered upon them with the one idea of bringing religion in England into uniformity with that of Scotland, and their efforts had been completely successful. It was not long before the Church of England burst the bonds of Puritanism, and recovered its Catholic heritage; but upon Scotland the Westminster Assembly has left a more enduring mark. Each decision, as it was made, had been brought before the General Assembly and Parliament, and accepted; and though unofficial modifications have crept in here and there, and some portions are regarded as obsolete, the Westminster Confession is still the “standard” of Presbyterian faith and worship throughout the Northern kingdom.

¹ The chief original sources of information on the proceedings are the notes which were taken at the sittings by Baillie and Lightfoot, preserved in the *Journal and Letters*. The official minutes made by the scribes are said to have been burnt in the great fire in 1666 A.D., and a copy of them met the same fate when the House of Commons was destroyed in 1834 A.D.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY UNDER CHARLES II.

Secular events which took place during the sessions of the Westminster Assembly—Resolutioners and Protesters—Feelings of the nation in regard to the Monarchy—The expedition of Montrose—His execution—The Coronation at Scone—The King's defeat and flight to France—The unpopularity of Cromwell in Scotland—Thanksgiving for the restoration of Charles II.—The Declaration of Breda—James Sharp chosen to represent the Scotch Presbyterians—His alleged treachery—Episcopacy restored to Scotland—Persecution of Presbyterians and execution of the Marquis of Argyle and others—Bishops appointed—Sharp made Archbishop—An examination of his conduct—Bishop Leighton's high character—Their consecration in Westminster Abbey—The Primate fills up the remaining Sees—The loyalty of the clergy put to the test—Changes in doctrine and discipline—The obligation on ministers to obtain confirmation from the rightful patrons—Two hundred refused—"The Bishops' Drag-net"—The Mile Act—Insurrection—An Act of Indulgence—Bishop Leighton's efforts at reconciliation—Military oppression—Murder of Archbishop Sharp.

THE period during which the Westminster Assembly continued its sessions was pregnant with important events; but they were civil rather than ecclesiastical, and in the history of the Church, notwithstanding their indirect influence upon it, they can receive little more than a passing notice. It includes the indecisive battle of Edgehill, October 23, 1642 A.D.; the defeat of the Royalists at Marston Moor, July 1, 1644 A.D., and at Naseby, June 14, 1645 A.D.; the brief but brilliant campaign of the Earl of Montrose, in which he

swept like an irresistible tornado over Scotland, and the total wreck and extinction of the royal cause, which he had espoused, in the surprise and defeat at Philiphaugh on September 13, 1645 A.D. It embraces also the flight of the King into the camp of the Scots, and their fatal surrender of him to the English, whether for gold or from necessity, and his execution at Whitehall on January 30, 1649 A.D.

During the supremacy of the Commonwealth in the decade following, there is much again more directly ecclesiastical that can only be lightly touched upon through brevity of space, especially the triumph of Cromwell, by which the Sectaries and Independents rose to prominence, and the Presbyterians were thrust into the background, and compelled to abandon their cherished hopes of establishing one united form of worship for both kingdoms. Then there was the terrible division which invaded their own camp, when the Church was literally rent in twain by intestine disputes between "Resolutioners" and "Remonstrants," or "Protesters." The former, inspired by the counsels of Douglas and Baillic, determined that any who had "incurred the taint of malignancy, or as engagers," might be admitted to serve their country, provided only that they purged themselves by public penance; the latter, under the leadership of Gillespie, Rutherford, and Guthrie, deprecating their restoration at any price, as a necessary "lowering of the covenanted state to the level of the world."

But what were the feelings of the nation at this time towards the throne? The Scottish Covenanters had

no inherent enmity against a monarchy, and certainly no love for a republic. They had fought against Charles I. because of his autocratic conduct, and they gave full proof of their loyal sentiments when they determined, almost without a moment's hesitation, to summon his son to the vacant throne, and proclaim him king. Their acceptance of his sovereignty they based upon his acceptance of the sovereignty of God, which, they chose to assert, could only be secured by adherence to the National Covenant. It was an unpalatable proposal, and Charles II. was most reluctant to accede to it, save under the direst necessity; and he began to dally with the Presbyterian commissioners, in the hope that the projected expedition of Montrose might win for him the crown without any such compromising conditions. Montrose, when he heard of the execution of Charles I., had vowed that he would avenge his death, and place his son upon the throne of Scotland; and he now obtained a commission from Charles II. to raise an army to establish his sovereignty by force. He sailed for Scotland, but failure and disaster awaited his enterprise almost from the moment of his landing. He was defeated, and his forces were scattered; and, after hiding in obscurity, he was captured, and condemned by the Parliament to a cruel and barbarous death. Charles at once disowned all responsibility for the expedition; and, within a month of Montrose's execution, arrived in Scotland to receive his crown on the proffered conditions. The coronation took place at the historic Palace of Scone on January 1, 1651, A.D. A sermon was preached on the

occasion by Robert Douglas, who admonished the young King of his duties, and warned him against falling into his father's faults; and when the King had lifted up his hands and sworn to observe the National Covenant and the Solemn League, the Earl of Argyle placed the crown upon his head, and the nobles and people declared their allegiance on bended knee. But his sojourn in his kingdom was of brief duration. He was emboldened to take up arms against Cromwell, and, after making a daring advance into England, encountered his enemies at Worcester on September 3, and was utterly routed. He sought safety in flight, and eventually escaped to France.

During Cromwell's protectorate Scotland was robbed of much of its national independence. His policy was to consolidate one great republic, and he merged Scotland as far as he could, to the chagrin and constant protest of the people, in the more important dominion of England. Not only did he take away its civil prerogative, he destroyed also the last vestige of its ecclesiastical government by closing the General Assembly, which they had ever regarded as "the glory and strength of their Church." It was, then, with unbounded satisfaction that the Scottish nation heard that the Protector was dead; and it was with the same feelings that they received the tidings that their hereditary king, Charles II., had entered London on May 29, 1660 A.D. A public thanksgiving was proclaimed in Edinburgh, and the provinces followed the example of the capital in the demonstration of delight with which they celebrated it.

A deputation of Nonconformists from England had succeeded in drawing from the King the famous "Declaration of Breda,"¹ by which he promised a "liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion," and the Scotch Presbyterians were anxious to secure themselves in a similar manner. They chose as their representative James Sharp, minister of Crail, a leading member of the party of Resolutioners, and commissioned him to make the best terms that he could for the maintenance of Presbyterianism. At the beginning of August he returned with a letter from the King, which filled them with assurance. In it Charles wrote: "We do resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance, in the exercise of their functions, all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becomes men of their calling."

The joy, however, with which they received this document was speedily dashed by the action of Parliament. It met on the first day of the New Year, and the majority of its members being "madly Royalist," they proceeded, with the most inconsiderate haste, to legislate in favour of all that the King was known to desire. They began by rescinding separate adverse Acts, but losing patience they at length determined, by one fell swoop, to withdraw from the Statute-book all laws, leagues, and bonds passed without the

¹ For full particulars and a consideration of the King's breach of faith, cf. the author's "Bishops in the Tower," chap. i., on the Restoration of the Monarchy.

sovereign's consent since 1633 A.D. The Act by which this great revolution was effected was called "the Act Rescissory." It placed Episcopacy *ipso facto* once more in power.

In giving his consent, the King argued that he had yielded to the will of Parliament, which, by its action, had shown that all the legislation by which Presbyterianism had been enforced was null and void. There was, therefore, no breach of promise on his part when he declared his resolve to preserve the government of the Church "*as it is settled by law*," for, in the opinion of Parliament, it was Episcopacy, not Presbyterianism, that was so settled.

Within a few months another Act was passed "for the restitution and re-establishment of the ancient government of the Church by archbishops and bishops;" but, before it was put into force, the whole Presbyterian community was dismayed by a revengeful persecution that broke out against some of their leaders. The first victim was the Marquis of Argyle, who was seized and arraigned for high treason, and executed in Edinburgh on May 27, 1661 A.D. It was he who had crowned the King at Scone, and his execution must ever leave the stain of base ingratitude upon the King's name. The only explanation of his assent to his death is to be found in the fact that Argyle was the one man whom he really feared in Scotland, and it is said the very fact that he had dared to put the crown upon his head, suggested the possibility that he might dare to take it off. Such a fear explains, it does not justify, his conduct.

Warristone was the next who fell victim to the royal revenge. He was charged as "a constant and malicious opposer of monarchy since 1637," and he paid the penalty. After him Guthrie, one of the most implacable of the Protesters, who had presented "the supplication" to the King, was also executed;¹ Gillespie escaped through the influence of friends, and by humiliating remonstrances; Samuel Rutherford would certainly have shared the fate of his companions had he not died on the eve of the executions. The feelings of Parliament toward him were not suffered to pass without a significant expression: his democratic treatise, "*Lex Rex*," was burnt by the public hangman.

When all these dark deeds of dishonour were done, the King took steps to organise the Church by the appointment of bishops. Sydserff, Bishop of Galloway, alone remained of the old order. He would naturally have been selected for the Primacy, but he was strongly suspected of Popery by the Presbyterians, and the King thought it more prudent to put him in one of the Northern Sees, where his views would be less unpopular. He was transferred to Orkney, perhaps not altogether unwillingly, as it was accounted one of the richest of the bishoprics.

The Archbishopric of S. Andrews, the primatial See, was conferred upon Sharp. He had been the sincere friend of the Presbyterians to watch their interests with the King, and his appointment roused

¹ He was so popular, and so much looked up to, that the people regarded him as a martyr, and that his death was so much regretted, that they held the token of his death before God in their prayers, that He would avenge the innocent blood. Wodrow's "*Analecta*," i. 109.

their indignation to the highest pitch. How far he deserved the execrations with which his co-religionists greeted him it is most difficult to decide. *Primâ facie* certainly the case is against him, and Scottish historians have for the most part failed to recognise even the possibility of his being anything less than a traitor. Looking at the whole case dispassionately, it does not appear to us that he was by any means as black as he has been painted. There is a wide gulf between a deliberate surrender of religious convictions for the purpose of personal advancement, and a prudent yielding to inevitable circumstances. As long as there was any reasonable prospect of upholding Presbyterianism he clung to it, and he only yielded when that prospect had become hopeless. Had he been more high-minded, he would have determined to give his friends positive proof that he had not betrayed their trust, by sacrificing the preferment that was pressed upon him, as Douglas did, who had been chosen to act with him. But there are many degrees between accepting a position of honour with new opportunities of usefulness, which is inconsistent with prior convictions, and wilfully betraying the cause and confidence of friends for the express purpose of self-aggrandisement. In the total absence of an undoubted proof of the latter, justice demands that we should give him the benefit of the doubt, and credit him with the former.¹

¹ The Presbyterians condemn him in unmeasured terms, and many baseless charges of immorality are laid against him. One short sentence of Cunningham's exactly expresses their view: "History belies his epitaph, and posterity still regards him as the Judas of the Scottish Church." Many have taken their views simply from "the picturesque

Three others were chosen by the King—Fairfowl to be Archbishop of Glasgow, Hamilton to be Bishop of Galloway, and Leighton for Dunblane. The last was the only man whose character stood really high in the Church. He was the son of the famous Nonconformist who had suffered persecution and death for having written "Zion's Plea against Prelacy." His antecedents seemed to unfit him for a bishopric, and he pleaded excuses; but his reputation for goodness was such that he was pressed to forego his scruples. The historian has summed up the popular estimate of his character in a pregnant sentence; in describing the high standard of morals maintained in his preaching, Burnet says that "his own practice did even outshine his doctrine." He had an influential brother at court, and might have had any See that he wished, but he chose the least important, Dunblane; his primary motive, no doubt, was his natural modesty, but there is reason to believe the selection was influenced at least by the fact that it carried with it the Deanery of the Royal Chapel, where he would be able to use the English Prayer-book, which he greatly admired.

sketch" of Burnet. Burton quotes an opposite view: "It is but fair to the memory of Sharp to say that the man who, by his position as a churchman, and by his services to ecclesiastical history, has the best title to represent the Church of Scotland—the Church wounded by the event which was prosperous to Sharp—has deliberately, and after a full view of the evidence, declined to press the charge of deliberate turpitude." He thinks that Sharp was merely a self-seeking man, who took the winning side when it was offered to him, concluding: "He laboured, as it appears to us, honestly for its establishment at the Restoration, so long as there was any hope of its being established. He only abandoned the cause when it was hopeless." *North British Review*, vii. 455.

There was no thought, after the outburst of popular dislike in the previous reign, of attempting generally to displace the Common Book of Order. The Sees having been fixed, arrangements were made for the consecration. A preliminary difficulty arose, for though Fairfowl and Hamilton had been ordained to the priesthood in England, Sharp and Leighton had only received Presbyterian orders. The latter raised no objection to reordination, but Sharp was urgent against it, pleading the parallel case of Spottiswoode, Lamb, and Hamilton in 1610 A.D.; but the English bishops were immovable, and both were admitted to the diaconate and priesthood according to the Catholic rule, and then all received consecration together at the hands of the Bishops of London, Worcester, Carlisle, and Llandaff in Westminster Abbey.

The four newly-appointed bishops proceeded to Scotland to take possession of their Sees, and provide for the filling up of the remaining vacancies. Leighton, who was averse to any public demonstration, parted company on the journey, and entered Edinburgh unobserved, but the rest were received with great pomp and ceremony. The Primate is said to have had the chief voice in the nomination of the bishops; his first offer was of the Bishopric of Edinburgh to his old friend and colleague, Robert Douglas, but Douglas absolutely refused; and the conduct of the

¹ The Presbyterian somewhat close parallel from contemporary charges of immorality in England. Reynolds and Richard Cunningham's epitaphs, and posterity stand on the same bench at the Savoy Church." Many have taken, as commissioners appointed

to uphold Presbyterianism, and were defeated in their efforts by the triumph of Episcopacy. The former yielded prudently to the pressure of necessity, subscribed to the Prayer-book, and retained his preferment; the other, jealous before all else of his reputation for consistency, and hating even the suspicion of self-interest, obstinately refused. Baxter and Douglas, no doubt, won the highest admiration, both from contemporaries and posterity; but it is quite possible that Reynolds and Sharp, at the expense of popularity, did the greatest good.

Wishart was appointed to Edinburgh, Haliburton to Dunkeld, Forbes to Caithness, Mackenzie to Moray, Paterson to Ross, Strachan to Brechin, Fletcher to Argyll, Wallace to the Isles, and Mitchell to Aberdeen. The only two who had any distinction were the first and the last—the one as a champion of Episcopacy, and an object of great aversion to the Covenanters; the other, as eminently fitted by his academical honours to win the respect of the University, and by his adherence to the Catholic school of Laud and Forbes to preside over a diocese which had clung to Episcopacy through all the trials and persecutions of the Covenant domination.

The clergy of the country were subjected to the first test of loyalty to the restored Government in the autumn of 1662 A.D., when the Privy Council summoned them to appear before the Diocesan Synods to take into consideration the discipline, doctrine, and worship of the Church. In the Northern dioceses there was a ready response, but in the

West and South only a small proportion obeyed the summons.

In the results of the different Conferences but little change was effected : in discipline, the old Presbyterian system was left in force, with the single exception of the general introduction of Episcopal direction ; in doctrine, nothing was done towards formally abrogating the Westminster Confession, but the Apostles' Creed was rescued from the oblivion into which it had fallen ; in worship, no attempt was made to enforce the Prayer-book, but it was agreed that every encouragement should be given to daily service, that preaching and lecturing be subordinated to prayer and praise, the more frequent use of the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology being especially advocated.

A much severer strain, however, was put upon the incumbents by the enforcement of an Act, which had been passed in June of the same year, rendering it necessary for any minister appointed to a benefice since 1649 A.D., to obtain a confirmation from the rightful patron, and to be reinstituted by the bishop of the diocese. In that year the right of patronage had been wrested from its lawful possessors and placed in the hands of Presbyteries. The patrons were generally ready to secure the incumbents in the tenure of their office, but a large number had conscientious scruples about submitting to the necessity of Episcopal institution, and no less than 200 out of the 900 existing ministers had the courage of their convictions and refused compliance. About 150 disregarded the summons to the Diocesan Synods. By

order of the Privy Council all were ejected from their livings, and their ejection was fraught with serious results. On the one hand, the greatest difficulty was experienced in supplying their places; on the other, they were encouraged by the sympathy and support of their old congregations to remain in the neighbourhood and erect rival conventicles, which the Government were compelled to suppress by armed force. Numbers of soldiers were quartered upon the disaffected districts, where they took the law into their own hands, and harassed the people by cruel exactions, fines, and imprisonment. Most rigid measures were adopted. An Act was passed, which came to be known as "the Bishops' Drag-net," imposing penalties upon those who absented themselves from their parish churches; and "the Mile Act" forbade the recusant clergy to reside within twenty miles of their old cures, within six miles of a cathedral city, or three of a royal burgh. At last, from arming themselves in self-defence against the violence of the military, the people were goaded into insurrection. From Dumfriesshire, Galloway, and Ayrshire they rallied round their standard a considerable force, and marched towards Edinburgh; they were met by General Dalziel at the foot of the Pentland Hills, and after being repulsed in repeated attacks were completely routed at Rullion Green. The prisoners were treated with the utmost severity: twenty were executed at Edinburgh; thirty-five were hanged at their own doors; many were subjected to inhuman cruelties, especially by the application of a dreadful torture

known as "the boot"; and the rest were transported beyond the seas. The fall of Clarendon in England led to a mitigation of the military outrages in Scotland; an Act of Indulgence was passed for the relief of the ejected clergy, but not more than forty took advantage of it. It came to be regarded by the discontented as an Erastian Act, and the indulged ministers acquired the soubriquet of "King's curates."

About the same time Bishop Leighton, who felt deeply for the consciences of the oppressed Presbyterians, made a determined effort to bring about a reconciliation and *modus vivendi*. Without yielding the apostolic authority of Episcopacy, he proposed for the present distress to submit to a curtailment of its inherent rights, if his opponents would accept it in "a moderate" form.¹

Episcopalians and Presbyterians met more than once in conference at Edinburgh and Paisley, and the Bishop commissioned six evangelists to make a preaching tour in the West to conciliate the congregations, but all was in vain; every overture was rejected, and Leighton abandoned the project. In disappointment he asked permission to resign his See; but in 1672 A.D. he was induced, sorely against his will, to accept the Archbishopric of Glasgow, which, however, he only retained for a few months.

¹ Episcopal authority was to be placed in the Synods, in which the bishop was appointed to preside. Nothing might be enforced in the way of discipline without the majority of the Synod; but when enforced, it was to be by the mouth of the presiding bishop. A triennial Synod for dealing with complaints against the bishops was proposed. Modifications, too, were made in the oath of obedience to be taken at ordination.

The temporary lull in persecution was followed by a new outbreak of legislation against Nonconformity, and the severest Acts were passed for the suppression of conventicles. Large fines were inflicted for attending them; imprisonment or exile was made the penalty of refusing to reveal information concerning them; and the ministers who preached were made liable to death and confiscation of goods. Military oppression was again active, and under the tyranny of Lauderdale both rich and poor suffered the gravest hardships throughout the West and South. A band of outlawed Covenanters, encouraged by the belief that Archbishop Sharp was the moving cause of all the troubles which had befallen their country, entered into a plot for his assassination; they laid in wait for his carriage, disarmed his attendants, and dragging him into the road stabbed him to death on Magus Moor, on May 3, 1679 A.D.

After this untoward event the extreme Protesters press into the forefront, and under several titles, as Cameronians, Sanquharians, Hillmen, the Faithful Remnant, and the Wild Westland Whigs, proclaimed open rebellion against the King and Church. It led to more violent measures on the part of the Government; and while those were being taken Charles II. died, on February 6, 1685 A.D.¹

¹ It must not be forgotten that the Estates had, under the influence of Covenantry leaders, from 1644 to 1646 A.D., inflicted the most cruel barbarities in imprisonment and executions upon loyal and good Scotchmen. Cf. Dr. Ranken in the *Scottish Guardian*, June 24, 1892.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

Unpopularity of the new king—An Act passed against attendance at field conventicles—Presbyterian sufferings—Measures taken for the repeal of the laws against Roman Catholics—Trial and execution of Renwick—Deputation to William of Orange—"The rabbling of the curates"—Interview of Bishop Rore with the Prince—Meeting of the Convention of Estates at Edinburgh—The election of its members—Letters from the Prince and the King—The dethronement of King James—The crown offered to William and Mary—The Claim of Right—William's objection to pledge himself to a persecuting policy—The perplexity of the bishops—They abstain from sitting in Parliament—Episcopacy abolished—The defeat at Killiecrankie—Re-establishment of the Presbytery—A review of the position of religious parties—The universities—A General Assembly summoned—The King attempts an amalgamation of Presbyterians and Episcopalians—The Massacre of Glencoe—The oath of assurance—The timely interference of Carstairs—Prosecutions for heresy—Death of King William.

THE Duke of York, under the title of James VII., succeeded Charles II. on the throne of Scotland. The bulk of the people were vehemently opposed to Romanism, and knowing that he was a professed adherent of that religion, they did not receive him with much demonstration of joy. The oppression under which Presbyterianism had laboured was in no way relieved. Within three months of his accession an Act was passed of the utmost severity. In 1560 A.D. and 1567 A.D. John Knox had made it a high crime and misdemeanour, punishable with death, to attend a

celebration of the mass. At the close of Charles' reign the same penalty had been imposed for preaching at a field conventicle. The new king secured a complete revenge by extending it to any and all who should be present at such an illegal gathering. It was the climax of persecution. For a time the Presbyterians suffered most severely under the penal laws; the prison at Edinburgh was crowded; numbers were confined in Dunottar Castle and subjected to great privation;¹ not a few were transported to the plantations beyond the sea.

In April 1686 A.D. the King invited Parliament to repeal the laws against Roman Catholics, but the Lords of the Articles refused even to sanction a consideration of his proposal. The most distinguished of them were peremptorily dismissed, and several of the bishops² ejected from their Sees in the most arbitrary manner. The Privy Council was reconstituted, and the King announced that, in the exercise of the royal prerogative, he had determined "to suspend, stop, or disallow all laws or Acts of Parliament against Roman Catholics;" and he further issued orders to fit up a chapel in the Palace of Holyrood, in which public worship should be celebrated according to the Roman ritual. In the hopes of throwing dust in the eyes of the Protestants and disguising his real

¹ Cf. "*Hind let Loose*," p. 201. In the churchyard there is a gravestone recording nine persons "who all died prisoners in Dunottar Castle, anno 1685, for their adherence to the Word of God and Scotland's covenanted work of Reformation."

² Cairncross, Archbishop of Glasgow; Bruce, Bishop of Dunkeld; and Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord-Advocate.

object by the semblance of even-handed toleration, he issued a "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience" for Presbyterians and Quakers. It was accepted by some of the more moderate Nonconformists, but the Cameronians denounced the royal indulgence in the most vehement language, and stirred the people to take up arms to resist it. Renwick, their leader, openly abjured all allegiance to the King, and made himself so obnoxious to the Government that a price was set upon his head. After many failures he was at length captured, tried, and executed in the Grass-market of Edinburgh in February 1688 A.D. He was the last of "the Protestant martyrs" who suffered in Scotland.¹

Before the close of the year the arbitrary conduct of the King had created so much opposition that the downfall of his power was inevitable. The deputations to William of Orange had convinced him that he would be cordially welcomed in England, and William Carstairs, who had been attached to his court in Holland, had assured him that his Presbyterianism would commend him to the bulk of the Scottish nation. No sooner had the news reached Scotland that he had landed at Torbay, than an insurrection of Cameronians broke out against the Church throughout the western portion of the country. On the Christmas Day a number of armed bodies attacked the clergy in those places where the Covenanters had most suffered. In Edinburgh the Roman Catholic chapel of Holyrood was

¹ "Scots Worthies," pp. 612-626. Tytler's "History of Scotland," iv. 72.

rifled by the mob. Crucifixes, images, pictures were broken in pieces and burnt. "The rabbling of the curates" began in Glasgow, where the passions of the people were inflamed by the burning of the effigies of the archbishops in the same fire with that of the Pope. The mob took the law into their own hands, and pillaged the manses, destroyed the ornaments and furniture of the churches, tore the gowns from the backs of the clergy, and drove them ignominiously out of their parishes. The riot and persecution lasted for several months, and though no lives were taken, the hardships endured by no less than two hundred ejected families in the depth of winter must have been very considerable.¹

The Episcopalians had sent Bishop Rose of Edinburgh to use his influence with William of Orange for the preservation of the established form of religion. He was in London when the news reached him of the outrages in the West, and he tried in vain to secure the Prince's interference. It was pressed upon him that all his applications would be useless, unless he was prepared, in the name of the Church, to promise cordial co-operation in the Prince's enterprise. After prolonged negotiations William consented to receive him, and he was formally introduced by Compton, Bishop of London. What transpired is too important to be passed over, for it exhibits the policy which William was determined to follow in a clear, though by no means satisfactory, light. It was emphatically a policy of expediency.

¹ Cf. Laing's "History of Scotland," iv. 194. Lathbury, p. 419.

Before Rose was admitted, William charged the Bishop of London to let him see in what position he then stood touching the rival Churches of Scotland. This was the message: "My lord, you see that the King, having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself swimming with one hand. The Presbyterians have joined him closely and offered to support him, and therefore he cannot cast them off, unless he could see how otherwise he can be served. The King bids me tell you," he went on, "that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland, for while there he was made believe that Scotland generally all over was Presbyterian, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for Episcopacy; and it is the trading and inferior sort that are for Presbytery; wherefore, if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians."¹ Bishop Rose replied that he had no commission or authority from his party to make any promises, but, speaking for himself, his impression was distinctly adverse; upon which Bishop Compton replied, "Then the King may be excused if he stands by the Presbyterians." The day following an interview was granted, and the Prince began by asking, "My lord, are you going to Scotland?" The Bishop replied, "Yes, sir, if you have any commands for me." The Prince answered, "I trust you will be favourable to me and follow the example of England."

¹ Cf. *Luttrell*, i. 417. Luckock's "Bishops in the Tower," p. 211.

Rose was in difficulties what to say, but answered ambiguously, "Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason, or conscience will allow me." It was enough. The Prince's mind was at once made up, and the fate of Episcopacy in Scotland was sealed.

The Convention of Estates was summoned to meet in Edinburgh, March 14, 1689 A.D. It was a crisis of the gravest character, and the Assembly was awaited with intense anxiety, for it was known that two questions of vast importance would be decided by it, viz., who should be their King, and what should be the national religion of the future. The mode of election had been arbitrarily altered by command of Prince William, for by the old constitution the obligation of the Test Act would have excluded all but Episcopalians. Forty-two peers, nine bishops, forty-nine members for counties, and fifty burgh representatives took their seats. The meeting was opened with the accustomed prayer, in which the blessing of God was invoked on King James. It was soon discovered on which side the majority lay, for the Royalist candidate for the Presidency, the Duke of Athole, was easily defeated by the Whig Duke of Hamilton.

The business of the Convention began by the reading of two letters: one from the Prince of Orange, the other from the King. The former appealed to them to settle the religion of the country upon a solid basis in accordance with the will of the people; the latter contained a summons to renew their allegiance, with the promises of free pardon or condign punishment according as his bidding should be obeyed or denied.

A gracious and grateful answer was returned to the Prince, but no notice was taken of the communication from the King. It satisfied the Jacobites that their cause was lost in the Council, and they resolved to appeal to force; for a brief space Edinburgh was thrown into all the tumult of open hostilities.

While the two sides were levying troops, the Convention decided the fate of the kingdom. The Lords of the Articles prepared a Bill in which it was stated that James VII. had forfeited the crown. The first resolution was couched in the following terms: "The Estates of the kingdom find and declare that King James VII., being a professed Papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as King without taking the oath required by law; and hath by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotic power, and hath exercised the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he hath forfeited the right of the crown, and the throne is become vacant."

It was resolved in the second place to offer the crown of Scotland to William and Mary. Both resolutions were embodied in a document entitled "the Claim of Right," setting forth the conditions upon which the offer was made, with the following special reference to the Church: "That Prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been, a great and insupportable

grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclination of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation (they having reformed from Popery by presbyters), and therefore ought to be abolished." The Act was passed with only nine dissentients, of whom seven were bishops. One of the latter was immediately involved in perplexity, for it fell to him to close the Assembly, as it had begun, with prayer. It was pointed out that to use the accustomed formula for the King would now be treason; he would not vary it, but escaped from the dilemma without direct violation of his conscience, by substituting the Lord's Prayer.

Three commissioners¹ were ordered to repair to London to make known the will of the nation. The crown was accepted, but as the coronation oath was being read, William was startled by the final clause, which bound the King to "root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, that shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God of the aforesaid crimes." The Prince interrupted the Earl of Argyle, who was reading the oath, and declared the impossibility of his swearing to anything which would "lay him under an obligation to be a persecutor;" and it was only after receiving an assurance that the clause admitted of another interpretation that he took the oath. It is difficult to see how its obvious meaning could be explained away; the only solution is that his conscience was satisfied by his having made the protest.

¹ The Earl of Argyle, Sir John Dalrymple, and Sir James Montgomery.

Episcopacy now became not so much an ecclesiastical as a political question ; it was henceforward to a very great extent identified with Jacobitism. When Parliament met in July, the bishops were not prepared to renounce their allegiance to their old king, and without doing this they were incapacitated from taking their seats. Their position was one of extreme perplexity. On the one hand, they must have realised that to stand aloof from the great council of the nation at such a crisis was to rob the hierarchy of its most powerful defence ; but, on the other hand, every principle of consistency, honour, and duty, seemed to demand resistance. They decided to place the claims of conscience first, and though apparently it wrecked Episcopacy, no one has any moral right to condemn their decision.

The absence of the prelates from Parliament accentuated the differences between them and the members who had taken the oath ; and there was, in consequence, less hesitation on the part of the laity in overthrowing Prelacy. After much debate an Act was agreed to, based upon that clause of the Claim of Right which condemned "all superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters ;" it rescinded all the Caroline legislation in favour of Episcopacy, and gave powers to William and Mary, in concert with Parliament, to decide upon a form of ecclesiastical government most agreeable to the wishes of the nation.

A few days after the passing of this Bill, the whole action of Parliament was disconcerted, and the capital thrown into consternation, by the tidings of the disaster which had befallen the Government troops at Killie-

crankie on July 27. General Mackay met the Scottish Royalists on a battlefield most advantageous to his opponents, where defeat must involve destruction; the sense of the peril of their position, realised when it was too late to be remedied, made his troops desperate; but they were completely overborne by the impetuous rush of the Highlanders, and driven panic-stricken in a disorderly rout into the river below them. At first the news of the defeat struck terror into the Government; but when it was known that Dundee had fallen their spirits revived, for he was the only Jacobite champion they really feared. The conflict lingered on with varying success, but the Highlanders' courage and enthusiasm fell with their leader, and the restoration of the exiled monarch was no longer possible.

The kingdom was now without an established form of religion. Episcopacy had been abolished, but no decision for the future of the Church had been given when the Estates broke up at the beginning of August. It was almost nine months before Parliament re-assembled. During the interval William had fully made up his mind to throw in the weight of his authority for the restoration of the Presbytery; and he met with no opposition on this point at least. The only way in which his will was thwarted was in rejecting his counsels for moderation. The Act of 1663 A.D., which made the crown supreme in all causes ecclesiastical, was repealed; all Presbyterian ministers ejected since 1661 A.D. were restored to their benefices; the General Assembly was empowered to appoint

commissioners to purge out all erroneous and negligent pastors; the Westminster Confession was reimposed as the standard of faith, and the Presbyterian form of Church government by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies, as fixed by statutes in 1592 A.D., was brought back again.

The question of patronage was left for future consideration, out of deference to the King, who hesitated to take it away. It was not long, however, before his consent was reluctantly granted under pressure to an Act transferring it to the heritors and elders of the parish, subject to the approval of the congregation.

It is worthy of notice that the Directory for Public Worship was not legalised, and no proposal was made to revive the National League or Covenant. It will not pass unnoticed that these resolutions were carried out entirely by the authority of Parliament.

It will be interesting, before turning our attention to the work of the General Assembly, to review the position of parties in the Church at this crisis. The bishops as a body were deprived of all spiritual authority, legal status, and temporalities. This deprivation followed *ipso facto* from the passing of the Act. The cases of the inferior clergy had to be dealt with individually, and in the absence of authoritative interference they were free to continue in the possession of their livings. A vast number north of the river Tay, being strongly Episcopalian, and having the influential laity with them, were left in undisputed possession. They professed their willingness to recog-

nise that William was *de facto* king, and took the oath of allegiance. In the South and West, where the population sympathised with Presbyterianism, some two hundred of the ministers had been violently ejected, and their parishes were either left vacant, or entrusted to men of the most violent school. Between the Tay and the Forth, Episcopalians and Presbyterians were about equally divided.

The position of the Universities also calls for consideration. It had been enacted by Parliament that no one should be qualified to hold a professorship without taking the oath of allegiance and accepting the Westminster Confession, and four commissioners had been empowered to visit the Universities to enforce the Act. In S. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Glasgow the majority refused the test, and were ejected. Aberdeen was left undisturbed; it had always been so staunchly Episcopalian that the commissioners felt that interference would provoke determined and dangerous opposition. They prudently, therefore, left Aberdeen alone.

It was under such circumstances that the elections took place for the General Assembly, which was to be called together in October for the first time since Cromwell had dismissed it, thirty-seven years before. No little difficulty was experienced in agreeing upon its constitution, and when it met it was far from being a representative Assembly. There were, it is true, a hundred and eighty members; but many parishes where ministers had been ejected and no successors appointed, the whole of the country north of the Tay, and the four great Universities, were practically unrepresented, and among the

lay-elders there was a remarkable absence of the nobility and gentry. The Assembly, under the circumstances, could not be otherwise than violently partisan. They proceeded at once to legislate for the consolidation of Presbyterianism; the Westminster Confession was made obligatory; the private administration of sacraments was prohibited; a public fast was proclaimed for the sins of the nation, among which Prelacy was prominently named; and two commissioners of visitation were appointed to enforce the laws on the clergy north and south of the Tay.¹ The Assembly was then dissolved, and did not meet again till January 1692 A.D., when the King, displeased by the vigour with which the commissioners had executed their office, pressed upon them the amalgamation of the Episcopalians with the Presbyterians, under proper security, in the government of the Church, but without success. The ruling powers were naturally averse to it, and they strengthened their position by convincing the more moderate party that the insistence of the King was a direct menace to the spiritual independence of the Church. The royal commissioner, finding his master's advice thus disregarded, dissolved the Assembly, and peremptorily refused to name a day for another session. The Moderator called upon the members to assert their freedom, and, in disregard of the royal authority, appointed a day in August of the next year.

No sooner had they dispersed than the country was filled with horror by the tidings that Macdonald of

¹ Cf. Acts of the General Assembly, p. 232.

Glencoe, and some forty Jacobites, after taking the oath of submission to William, had been treacherously massacred under circumstances of almost unparalleled baseness.¹ The warrant had been signed by the King, and no explanations availed to satisfy the people that he was not privy to the atrocious murders. It aggravated greatly the animosity of the Episcopalians, and this was further increased by the action of Parliament, who, to repress the revival of Jacobitism that the massacre had created, passed "The Oath of Assurance." It was thereby made obligatory upon all persons holding civil, military, or spiritual offices to swear allegiance to William as King, not only *de facto* but also *de jure*. It was resented of necessity by Episcopalians, as putting an unjustifiable strain upon their consciences, and, unexpectedly, also by Presbyterians, who regarded it as a mark of Erastianism that it should be imposed upon the Church without having been even considered by an ecclesiastical court. But for the timely interference of Carstairs, it would have led to open hostility between the Presbyterian Church and the Crown. Whether the romantic story, in which his good offices have been commonly described, is true in all its parts, is of little consequence. It is believed that William had been over-persuaded to insist that his commissioner should exact the oath from the General

¹ A very full and graphic account of this cold-blooded act of treachery is given in Macaulay's "History of England," iv. 191-217, where he quotes largely from the official report on the massacre. William can only be exonerated from treachery by charging him with culpable ignorance and carelessness. It is urged in extenuation that he signed the warrant without reading it!

Assembly at its meeting on March 29, 1694, A.D. Rumours of his intentions had been largely circulated in Edinburgh, and Lord Carmichael, who was chosen to represent him, sent to the King for final instructions. The messenger received peremptory orders to enforce the oath. He was on the eve of starting when Carstairs, hearing the nature of the despatch, hastened to stop him, and, in the King's name, demanded possession of the document. It was midnight when he reached the palace at Kensington, and the King had retired to rest; but Carstairs forced his way into the bed-chamber, and, falling on his knees, awoke him from sleep, saying that he had come to beg for his life. He explained what he had done, and though at first the King pronounced it an unpardonable crime, he listened to reason, and was convinced that the enforcement of the oath would alienate the great body of Presbyterians, of whom Carstairs was the mouth-piece; thus with the Episcopalians already bitterly hostile, the tenure of his sovereignty would be imperilled. The despatch was countermanded, and the messenger arrived at Edinburgh on the very morning of the Assembly with the welcome tidings of the King's concession.¹

The General Assembly continued to meet each year, but no important legislation was carried out. It was called upon to deal with two forms of unbelief and heresy, but it was mainly occupied with the difficult work of filling up the vacancies of the ejected clergy.

In 1696 A.D. they passed an Act against Atheists,

¹ Cf. M'Cormick's "Life of Carstairs," pp. 57-61.

which was followed by the prosecution and death of a young infidel, Thomas Aikenhead, to the lasting disgrace of the Presbyterians, who refused to relent, or even to grant a reprieve, though the accused recanted and asked to be executed with the Bible in his hand in token of his repentance.

In 1701 A.D. they were confronted by another case of a kindred nature. George Garden, a Presbyterian divine, had espoused the tenets of Antoinette Bourignon,¹ a fanatical mystic. He was summoned to the bar of the Assembly, but declined to appear. They condemned his writings and deposed him from his office; and though the heresy which he embraced is one of the most obscure in history, its memory has been carefully preserved till this generation in Scotland, for every candidate for Presbyterian orders has been required to express his abhorrence of "all Popish, Arian, Socinian, Arminian, and Bourignian errors." It must often have created thoughts of wonderment in those who heard the oath of repudiation, perhaps also in many who took it; but it will do so no more, for the last of the five named heresies was erased from the declaration in 1889 A.D.

On March 8, 1702 A.D., William died. He had undertaken a most difficult task in one of the greatest crises in the history of the Church and country. It

¹ She claimed to have received a special revelation of the true meaning of Holy Scripture. Her leading principle was that of the Pietistic Mystics, viz., that religion consists in emotion and conscious feeling, not in practice. Her tenets spread in the seventeenth century from Holland to Germany, France and England.

must always be remembered to his honour, whether we sympathise with the Revolution or not, that, though a Presbyterian by conviction, and surrounded by courtiers of like conviction, he counselled moderation, and used all his efforts, but unhappily with little success, to uphold principles of toleration for Episcopacy.

CHAPTER XXIII.

QUEEN ANNE AND THE ACT OF UNION.

Scottish opposition to the English Parliament touching the Act of Union—Terms of agreement—The Presbyterian form of religion preserved—Lord Belhaven's denunciation of the Union—Riots in Edinburgh and elsewhere—The Act passed—English officials brought into Scotland—Attempt to introduce the English Liturgy—The General Assembly legislate against it—The trial of James Greenshields—Appeals against the decision—Recourse to the House of Commons—Commissioners from the General Assembly sent to London—A Toleration Bill passed for the protection of Episcopalian worship—An abjuration oath imposed—A Bill to recover the rights of patrons—Other legislation obnoxious to the Presbyterians—Anxiety about the oath of abjuration—Death of the Queen.

THE earliest years of Queen Anne's reign were taken up with the great question of the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The English Parliament had passed an Act in 1700 A.D. securing the crown, on the death of Queen Anne without issue, to the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her heirs descended from James I., the only Protestant branch of the Stuarts. The Scottish people were indignant at not having been taken into counsel upon a matter of such moment, and when the English Ministry pressed upon the Estates the acceptance of the Act, they declined their overtures, and proceeded to legislate, reserving to themselves the right to choose "a successor of the royal line and Protestant religion," independently of "English or any foreign interference."

They went further, and, as it were in anticipation of disagreement with England, they enacted that all persons in the kingdom capable of bearing arms should be taught and exercised in the use of them. It strained the relationship between the two kingdoms to the farthest point, and the greatest difficulty was experienced in preventing an outbreak of hostilities. After much troublesome negotiation, however, Scotland was induced to appoint commissioners to confer with England upon the subject of union, and in April 1706 A.D. they decided that England and Scotland should be incorporated in one kingdom, under the title of Great Britain, and that the arms of the two countries be quartered together, Scotland reserving the dexter side of the shield for the cross of S. Andrew in all cases where her nationality was involved. The commissioners were precluded from making any proposal "of or concerning any alteration of the worship, discipline, and government of the Church, as by law established in Scotland;" but the prohibition was eventually disregarded, and a provision made that "the Presbyterian Establishment shall be held and observed in all time coming as a fundamental and essential condition of any treaty or union to be concluded between the two kingdoms, without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any sort, for ever."

When the Estates met to consider the report of the commissioners in October, the utmost excitement prevailed in the capital. Lord Belhaven led the opposition in the House, and created the wildest enthusiasm by an

impassioned appeal to defend the independence of the nation. "I see in vision," he said, "Scottish barons, lawyers, merchants, gentry, artizans, all alike ruined. I think I see our ancient mother, Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our Senate, ruefully looking round her, covering herself with her royal mantle, awaiting the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with the exclamation, 'And thou, too, my son!'"

Lord Marchmont, who represented the Ministry, rose, and taking up the peroration, said, with a sneering retort, that the speaker had left it incomplete, for its fitting conclusion was this: "I awoke, and behold it was a dream."

The popular feeling, however, was with the opposition, and as soon as the proposals for union were made known, riots broke out in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other places; the Articles of Union were publicly burnt; numbers armed themselves to defend the independence for which their forefathers had fought and died, and it is said they even wrote upon their sword-blades the object for which they were prepared to unsheath them—"Prosperity to Scotland, and no union." But eventually the Ministry prevailed, the opposition was overpowered, and the Act of Union came into operation on May 1, 1707 A.D.

Queen Anne was known to support the principles and practices of the Episcopal Church, and her reign was marked by a new departure in public worship. The Union brought an influx of English officials into Scotland. English regiments were quartered in many

of the towns. The circumstances seemed especially favourable for introducing the English Liturgy. The movement began first in the North, where Churchmen read the Burial Service at the grave; and this became so widely popular, that they proceeded further to distribute in the villages the Book of Common Prayer.¹ The General Assembly took alarm and passed an Act as soon as possible "against innovations in the worship of God." It was intended not only to stay any inroads upon Presbyterian congregations, but to bar the use of the Anglican Liturgy in Episcopal meeting-houses. Their power to do the latter was soon put to the test. An Episcopal clergyman, James Greenshields, who had been expelled at "the rabbling of the curates," and had taken refuge in Ireland, returned in 1709 A.D. to Edinburgh, and opened a chapel in Canongate with the Anglican service. He was forcibly dislodged by the police, and driven elsewhere. Two further attempts to carry out his purpose were frustrated. He was summoned before the Presbytery, but, as he ignored their jurisdiction, the co-operation of the civil magistrates was invoked to restrain him. It ended in his imprisonment. An appeal to the Court of Session was rejected, and the decision of the magistrates upheld. His supporters lodged a further appeal before the House of Lords at Westminster. It was sent just

¹ It is said that above 19,000 copies of the Prayer-book, and other devotional books relating to it, were sent from London, especially from Oxford University, during two years, and that many proselytes to the Liturgy were made in consequence. Cf. "*Representation of the Church in North Britain*," published 1718, p. 19; quoted by Grub, iii. p. 368.

at a time when England was in a state of the greatest excitement caused by the impeachment of the famous Dr. Sacchaverel, and no notice was taken of it; but on the downfall of the Whig Ministry, and the advent to power of the High Church Tories, the appeal was renewed, and with complete success. The judgment of the Scottish Court of Session was reversed, and the Edinburgh magistrates were declared liable to heavy fines "for wrongous imprisonment." This decision was given in April 1711 A.D.¹

The Episcopalian party, encouraged by their success, determined to seize the opportunity for further legislation. A Bill was brought into the House of Commons, January 21, 1712 A.D., "to prevent the disturbance of the Episcopal communion in Scotland in the exercise of their religious worship, and for repealing an Act of the Scottish Parliament entitled 'An Act against Irregular Baptisms and Marriages.'" The General Assembly despatched three commissioners—Carstairs, Blackwell,² and Baillie—to oppose the Bill to the utmost of their power, but the tide of popular feeling was strongly against them, and it passed the House of Commons with only seventeen dissentients, thirteen of whom were Scottish members. In the House of Lords the Presbyterian opposition so far prevailed that the Bill was saddled with a clause which, it was hoped, would make it practically inoperative. An abjuration

¹ For full particulars of this important case, see Wodrow's Correspondence, i. 68, 69. Lockhart Papers, i. 345-348.

² His letters written during his stay in London contain much information on the subject. They are printed in the first volume of the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, pp. 197-222.

oath was imposed upon Episcopalian ministers. They were as a body pledged to the exiled dynasty, and would be slow to avail themselves of the benefits of the Act at the sacrifice of their loyalty. The Episcopalians were, however, equal to the emergency, and pressed upon the House the justice of imposing the oath upon all or none, and their arguments prevailed. The result was, that while the Episcopalians must refuse the clause out of loyalty to their legitimate king, the Presbyterians were unable to accept it for fear of sacrificing their religion, for the oath provided that the reigning monarch should be "of the communion of the English Church," *i.e.*, Episcopalian. Practically, therefore, the safeguard was inoperative, and toleration was secured.

The Toleration Act was quickly succeeded by another for restoring to the ancient patrons the right of presentation to livings. It had been taken away in 1649 A.D., and again restored by the Act Rescissory in 1660 A.D., and once more abolished at the Revolution, when the right of choice was invested in "the elders and heritors" of a parish, provided they were willing to make a compensation of six hundred marks to the deprived patron. The pecuniary obligation deterred parishes from claiming to nominate, but the very idea of legally reverting to the ancient method roused them to action. The lay-patrons were for the most part Episcopalian, and they would present to livings ministers pledged to support their views in the Presbyteries. It was regarded, therefore, simply as another step towards overthrowing the Revolution settle-

ment. The three commissioners from the General Assembly were still in London, and they received orders to offer the most strenuous opposition. They framed a powerful appeal to the Upper House, but either forgetting, or more likely wishing to ignore "the Lords Spiritual,"¹ they addressed it "To the most honourable the Peers of Great Britain," and it was set aside as informal without consideration. The Bill passed rapidly through all its stages, and became law April 22, 1712 A.D.²

There was yet further legislation in this reign which was obnoxious to the Presbyterians. The "First Book of Discipline," compiled by Knox in 1560 A.D., had affixed the stigma of Popery upon the observance of holy days and Church festivals; and in the subsequent vicissitudes, according to the ascendancy of Episcopacy or the Presbytery, the observance of Christmas and Easter was maintained or not. Since the Revolution there had been no "Christmas recess" or "Yule-tide vacancy" in the Court of Session, which was held continuously from the autumn to the spring. Parliament decreed that the holiday should be kept in future.

The last ecclesiastical measure of this year to which Queen Anne gave her assent was an Act for "apply-

¹ The omission was doubtless designed, and the House nearly marked their displeasure by imprisoning the petitioners, but one of the Scottish peers persuaded his brethren that it was due to ignorance, and they escaped.

² It remained on the Statute-book till 1874 A.D., when it was repealed, and the right of choosing a minister was entrusted to all the communicants of a congregation, subject to certain regulations of the General Assembly.

ing the rents of the late bishops' lands that remained in the Crown to the support of such of the Episcopal clergy as shall take the oath to Her Majesty."

October 28 now arrived; it was the last day of grace before imposing the oath of abjuration, and the utmost anxiety prevailed. Jurants and non-jurants were ranged in hostile camps, and nothing could exceed the bitterness of their mutual recriminations; and though the Government, recognising the futility of an oath taken as it was with so many reservations, let it fall first into abeyance, and then in a few years altered its provisions, it was long before the animosities which it had stirred were laid to rest.

The Queen died on August 1, 1714 A.D. She was the last of the direct Stuart line who reigned over Scotland. George, son of Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, succeeded to the throne. The Tory Ministry was displaced, and the Presbyterians breathed again and took fresh courage.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE SCOTTISH MISSION.

The Reformation of John Knox failed in the North—The Roman Catholics continued their worship—King James's attempt to re-establish Episcopacy from England threw the Roman Catholics into the background—The Scottish Mission—Difficulties attending it—Hope of the Roman Catholics revived by the marriage of Charles I.—His reign an oppressive one—The Marquis of Huntly—Part taken in the mission by the different Roman orders—Appointment of a Prefect Apostolic—Establishment of schools—King James's abortive efforts to extend relief to the Roman Catholics—Consequences of the Revolution—Statistics of the Roman Church—A Vicar Apostolic appointed with Episcopal powers—The defeat of Prince Charles a severe check to development.

FROM the year 1610 A.D., when Scotland had recourse to the Anglican Church for Episcopal consecration, there were three ecclesiastical bodies, all of which claim our attention when we have to write the history of "the Church in Scotland." Hitherto there is no trace of the influence of the English Reformation upon the Episcopal Church north of the Tweed. The Protestantism of John Knox made no pretence of "reforming" the historic Church; it uprooted it, and established in its stead one of modern growth, transplanted from Germany and Geneva. During the half century which intervened from this uprooting till the Apostolical succession was restored through the Anglican Episcopate, the only body representing the great

Catholic Church were those whom the Reformation had left untouched in doctrine and worship. It was a scattered and dismembered community, struggling for existence everywhere under the weight of penal laws, compelled to celebrate its mysteries "in the dens and caves of the earth." Many of its bishops left the country; others remained, but ceased to exercise any spiritual functions; only in the northern countries, where the "Catholic nobles" were sufficiently able to protect them, did they attempt to hold their ground. The opposition of the Presbyterians was directed against "the Popish Lords," "Popish ceremonies," "Popish worship," "the idolatrous mass," "Jesuit priests," and all that in their eyes was essentially Roman.

From the time when King James determined to have one and the same form of religion for all his kingdom, and took the first step towards it by establishing an Episcopal Church, which drew its succession from England, the purely Roman community fell more and more into the background, and the animosity of the Presbyterate was turned against what is now called the Scottish Episcopal Church. The history of this latter has occupied much attention in the preceding pages, but that which it superseded has been passed by. It remains for us to gather up what little may be learnt of its waning and waxing influence, through a century of the severest persecution and trial.

At the beginning of this period the work of the Roman Catholics seems to be concentrated in what was called "the Scottish Mission." It was the sphere in

which not a few were rewarded for their labours by torture, imprisonment, and execution. Patrick Anderson, Robert Creighton, Father Moffat, and Father Ogilvie are men who must ever be associated with the Roman Church under King James; they bore in its full severity the penalties of the anti-Roman laws. We may form some conception of the perils they encountered from the frequent notice of "the crime of harbouring Popish priests." In 1615 A.D., for instance,¹ three citizens of Edinburgh were tried and condemned to be executed as traitors on this charge. But the emissaries of the old faith laboured on undismayed; "with great patience, skill, and capacity for working in secret, the missionaries"—Jesuits or "trafficking priests"—"kept their hierarchy alive through all dangers and difficulties."²

When James VI. died, the hopes of the Roman Catholics, so often disappointed in his reign, were immediately revived by the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII. of France. By the articles of the marriage treaty it was stipulated that the Queen should have full freedom for herself and her court to worship God after the rites of her Church, and that the Catholics of England should not be troubled on account of their religion; her co-religionists in Scotland never contemplated such an anomaly as that they should be punished for what was allowed in England. But there is only one recorded instance of any good resulting to the Scottish Roman Catholics

¹ "Political Criminal Trials," iii. 371.

² Burton, "History of Scotland," vi. 269.

from this treaty; it was in 1626 A.D., when Father Mambrecht had been sentenced to be hanged and his death-warrant signed by Charles I., that the Queen interposed to revoke the sentence.

The reign, so full of promise, proved most disastrous. The penal laws were applied with increased stringency; the Privy Council instituted a searching inquisition in the North, and many noblemen and persons of influence were brought to trial. Participation of the Holy Communion at Holyrood Chapel was made a test for all Government officials, and many who disobeyed the injunction forfeited their posts. A special commission for enforcing the disabling laws was issued in July 1629 A.D., "to follow, hunt, and pursue Jesuits and Papists with fire and sword, and to use all other force and warlike engine that can be had."

During all this period of persecution there is no name that occurs so frequently as that of the Marquis of Huntly. His life, prolonged beyond the allotted span, was marked by strange inconsistencies. By birth and tradition a loyal adherent of the Papacy, he never hesitated, when pressed by the rigour of the law, to profess himself ready to accept the Presbyterian faith; he justified his conduct through the belief that if he should resist and be cut off, the Church that he loved would lose its strongest influence. It testifies to the power of his name, that, though on his death-bed he was reconciled by a Jesuit father, he was, nevertheless, buried without any interference in Elgin Cathedral, June 15, 1636 A.D., according to the full rites of the Roman Church.

During the first half of the seventeenth century we find representatives of all the chief Roman Orders labouring in "the Scottish Mission;" these were, in addition to Jesuits, Franciscans, Benedictines, Capuchins, and Lazarists, and in their reports to the Propaganda there is ample testimony to the success of their self-denying and perilous work; it has been spoken of as "almost indescribable and beyond belief." In the Hebrides and the Highlands they ministered the sacraments of the Church to thousands,¹ and one of the chief missionaries, Father Archangel, after giving statistics of an extraordinary amount of conversions, closes his report in 1630 A.D. with the declaration, "there is not a corner in all the kingdom where I have not left the seed of the Faith."

In the year 1653 A.D. the Roman Church appointed a "Prefect Apostolic" with authority over all the secular clergy employed in the mission; and the second to hold the office, Winster of Dunbar, describes the difficulties under which the work was carried on, the stringent enforcement of the penal laws, and the necessity of conducting their worship in secret. They had no schools of their own, and it was the law of the land that all children should be placed under Protestant teachers. The candidates for ordination were compelled to seek their education and training abroad in the colleges of Paris, Madrid, Douai, or Rome. The rite of Confirmation was never performed, for there

¹ Father Hegertz claims to have brought back to the Catholic Faith 2229 persons, to have baptized 1222, and to have performed 117 marriages. Cf. *Archiv Prop. Acta* for May 8, 1628, quoted by Bellesheim, iv. 70.

was not a Roman bishop within the bounds of Scotland. An attempt was made to remedy these evils, through the influence of the Macdonalds, by founding two Catholic schools, one in Glengarry, the other in the island of Barra; but they were far from popular.

The adherents of the old religion took fresh courage when James II. succeeded to the throne; he sent a letter to the Privy Council at Edinburgh, desiring that his co-religionists should be exempted from all disabilities, and the penal acts treated as a dead letter till they should be formally repealed; but they were strenuously opposed to any such relaxation. The King summoned the leaders of the opposition—the Duke of Hamilton, Sir George Lockhart, and General Drummond—to an interview at Westminster. He offered to the Scots an amnesty from all political offences and free trade with England, if they would be willing to afford the desired relief to his Roman Catholic subjects; but he could make no impression upon them, and Parliament proved absolutely inexorable. It was in these straits that the King resolved to grant on his own authority what the Estates denied; he issued a general indulgence on February 12, 1687 A.D., with full liberty for scrupulous consciences; and he ordered the proclamation to be read at the market-place in Edinburgh. It granted complete toleration to the Roman Catholics, made them eligible for all public offices, and conceded permission to hold their religious worship on equal terms with the rest of his subjects. The only limitation was, that it should not be unnecessarily paraded before the public, and in view of this they were prohibited from carrying

the Host in procession within the precincts of any royal burgh. The Chapel Royal at Holyrood was put in order for Catholic worship, and arrangements were made for committing the abbey to the care of the Augustinian Canons, in whose charge it had been before the Reformation. But all this toleration was only short-lived. The Revolution plunged them once more into all the miseries of persecution; mob violence broke out against them, and William of Orange took no steps either to punish the offenders or to put a stop to the outrages. The most eminent Romanists, the Duke of Gordon, Lord Perth, and Lady Traquair, had their houses pillaged, and were themselves compelled to seek safety in flight; others were thrown into prison, and all the old inquisitorial machinery was put into operation. A reward of five hundred merks was offered for the discovery of a priest or Jesuit, and the profession of the Catholic faith was made again an absolute disqualification for any civil dignity or office. An investigation was set on foot by the Privy Council with the following results: in Edinburgh there were between one and two hundred Roman Catholics; in Perth, twenty; in Glasgow, only five. But in the Highlands and the Isles they were far more numerous; in Barra, Uist, Canna, Rum, and Muck, nearly all the inhabitants were Papists; in Knoydart and Morar, all but four; in Arisaig, Moydart, and Glengarry, all but one. Altogether, they numbered nearly five thousand in these parts.¹

The oppression under the Prince of Orange called

¹ Cf. "Miscellany of the Maitland Club," iii. 424-440.

forth fresh energies, and a new and very important departure was taken in the appointment of a bishop for the Mission. Hitherto, the "Prefects Apostolic" had only been in priest's orders; it was now determined, despite all the attendant difficulties and dangers, to consecrate a "Vicar Apostolic," with full episcopal powers to perform the rites which belonged to the highest order, from which the Scottish Catholics had been so long debarred. Thomas Nicholson received consecration in Paris on February 27, 1695 A.D., and entered, as soon as he was able, upon the sphere of his labours. In one year he confirmed no less than three thousand persons, and a few years later, in 1706 A.D., it was deemed necessary to appoint a coadjutor bishop. It gave a great impulse to the cause, and in 1720 A.D. Wodrow wrote of "the terrible growth of Popery, especially in the North. . . . Bishops, priests, and Jesuits are exercising their functions openly, and seminaries and schools are openly set up, and multitudes sent abroad are coming home from Popish seminaries every three or four months."¹

The organisation of the Roman Church was further developed in 1726 A.D. by the ecclesiastical separation of the Highlands and Lowlands, and the appointment of a "Vicar Apostolic" for either division of the country.

The Jacobite rising in 1745 A.D., and the defeat of Prince Charles Edward at Culloden in the following April, gave a severe check to the progress of the Roman Catholics. A vast number of them were

¹ Correspondence, vol. ii. 586.

banished from the country, their chapels were destroyed, and all their vestments and costly vessels burnt, and priests and people were subjected to the most cruel treatment. Indeed, it has been said that the Hanoverian victory was followed up by unparalleled oppression and barbarity; and in this state of depression we must now leave them for a time, to follow the fortunes of their rivals, the Scottish Episcopalians.

CHAPTER XXV.

DIVISIONS IN THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The bishops abandon their dioceses after the Revolution—Steps taken to perpetuate the succession—Difficulties in electing candidates—Consecration of bishops—The last of the ejected bishops—An “Episcopal College” formed—The divisions caused thereby—The Usages—Fresh consecrations—A Concordat and Articles of Agreement—End of the College Schism—A body of Canons framed—The arrival of Prince Charles—His victory and defeat—The oppression of the Episcopalians—The death of George II.

WHEN Presbyterianism was established by the Revolution in 1690 A.D., the bishops were deprived of their office and dignity. Being expelled from their palaces, they for the most part went to reside at Edinburgh. It creates some surprise, for there were many in the North who refused to accept the change, and remained loyal to Episcopacy. In Moray, Aberdeen, Banffshire, Ross, and Brechin especially, numbers of the clergy kept possession of their parishes, and they would have been glad of the support to be derived from the nearer presence of their old diocesan. It may have been that, having lost their temporalities, they found it impossible to maintain their position at all adequately, and preferred to pass into complete seclusion.

In 1704 A.D. Archbishop Ross, the Primate, died, and as only five of the Scottish Sees remained filled, and one of these was held by a bishop in the last stage

of sickness and infirmity, the survivors realised that steps must be immediately taken to perpetuate the succession. It seemed to them that they would avoid infringing any law of the state if they consecrated new bishops simply for the purpose of performing the Episcopal acts of ordination, confirmation, and the like, without giving them titular connection with any diocese. The right of nomination to Sees resided in the sovereign. Episcopal jurisdiction was only accidental; Episcopal functions were essential to the continuance of the Church. A difficulty at once arose touching election; it could only be canonically made by a diocese, but after consultation with the leading clergy and laity of the Episcopal community, two presbyters of good report, Sage¹ and Fullarton, were chosen, and consecrated on the Feast of S. Paul's Conversion, 1705 A.D., in an oratory of the Archbishop of Glasgow's house at Edinburgh. The Deed of Consecration is signed by Jo. Glascuen, Alex. Edinburgen, and Ro. Dunblane. It was expressly provided that they should exercise no diocesan jurisdiction, but that the Government of the Church remain exclusively in the hands of the ejected bishops. On the death of the Primate the Archbishop of Glasgow succeeded, and after him the surviving bishops in order of seniority.

During the next few years several others, Falconer, Christie, Campbell, Gadderar, Millar, and Irvine, were all consecrated to the Episcopate, and on March 22,

¹ Sage had been much mixed up in theological controversy, as the author of a learned work, "*Principles of the Cyprianic Age with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction.*" He wrote also other treatises of much note at the time.

1720 A.D., Rose, the sole survivor of the ejected bishops, died. He had lived through a great crisis, and his loss was irreparable. It was to his judgment and wise counsel that the Episcopal clergy owed their unshaken constancy and unity, and his value as the pilot through those most stormy times may be gathered from the fact that his death was followed by most unhappy and grievous divisions. He had concentrated in his own person all Episcopal authority. The new bishops had every one renounced jurisdiction and share in the government of the Church, and when the mantle fell from his shoulders, there was no one empowered to take it up. There were living six Scottish bishops: four of them, Fullarton, Falconer, Millar, and Irvine, in Scotland; two, Campbell and Gadderar, resided in England. It would have been well for the Church had the opportunity been taken to reinstate the Episcopal Sees, but Episcopacy was so closely allied with the exiled monarchy that the clergy and Jacobite laity shrunk from any course that derogated from the authority of the "rightful" sovereign in matters ecclesiastical. They resolved, therefore, to constitute the four bishops who were living in Scotland an "Episcopal College," with a corporate jurisdiction over the whole community. Taking the General Assembly with its Moderator in a measure for a pattern, they appointed one of the four, Fullarton, to preside over their body. Lockhart of Carnwarth, who was the great upholder of the authority of the exiled King, was so pleased with the plan that he endowed the President's See with £100 per annum. The Chevalier (for

so Charles Edward was generally called) signified his approval from Rome, where he was living.¹

The establishment of the "Episcopal College" divided the Church, for Bishops Campbell and Gadderar dissented from it on the ground that diocesan government was the only true and primitive practice. They differed again from the bishops at home in the matter of "the Usages." Certain of the English non-jurors, headed by Bishop Collier and Dr. Brett, proposed the adoption of certain Liturgical practices which had the authority of primitive times, and of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. The chief were the following: (1) the mixed chalice; (2) the remembrance of the faithful dead in prayer; (3) the Invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Consecration; (4) the restoration of the Oblation to the central part of the service. They were strongly opposed by Bishop Spincks. The advice of the Scottish bishops was asked, and though nothing was decided at first, after the death of Archbishop Rose the controversy divided the Episcopalians into two hostile camps. Those who favoured diocesan jurisdiction and the introduction of the disputed practices were called "Usagers;" while the supporters of a corporate jurisdiction, who also rejected the "Usages," were designated "the College Party." The latter, in order to gain a majority of Episcopal votes, consecrated two new bishops, Cant and Freebairn, in October 1722, A.D., and two others, Duncan and Norrie, in 1724 A.D. Fullarton

¹ Full details of the correspondence at this time are given in the Lockhart Papers, ii. 35-50. The Jacobite interests were supported by a body of persons generally known as "the King's trustees."

had been elected in 1729 A.D. by the clergy of Forfar, Kincardine, and S. Andrews to be their diocesan, and these promised him "all due and canonical obedience as such." Their example was almost immediately followed by the clergy of Aberdeen, who called Gadderar to be their bishop. As he preferred remaining in England, Campbell was chosen in his stead. Thus a beginning was made in the restoration of the primitive jurisdiction. In 1727 A.D., when Fullarton died, "the Usagers" determined on a further advance. Millar was elected to be Diocesan of Edinburgh, Rattray¹ was chosen by the Presbyters of Dunkeld, Dunbar by those of Moray, and Keith² was made coadjutor to Bishop Millar of Edinburgh. They were all men of power. Two of them were connected with families of birth and distinction, and they gave strength to the cause of "the Usagers." The Erastianism of "the College Party," fostered by such men as Lockhart, alienated many of their adherents, and in 1731 A.D. they welcomed a "Concordat" in which the chief surrender was the principle of collegiate jurisdiction.

The following were the Articles of Agreement:—

i. That we shall only use the Scottish or English Liturgy in the public divine service; nor shall we dis-

¹ He wrote much, but his most highly esteemed work was "The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, being the Liturgy of S. James, compared with the Liturgy of S. Cyril, and with the Clementine." He attached great value to the Clementine Liturgy. The above work is still highly esteemed, even after all that has been done for Liturgical knowledge.

² He wrote a well-known "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland" in 1734, and in 1755 published his "Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops." For an estimate of their value, cf. Russell's "Life," pp. xxxiv.—xl.

turb the peace of the Church by introducing into the public worship any of the ancient usages.¹

ii. That no man shall be consecrated a bishop without the consent and approbation of a majority of the other bishops.

iii. That upon the demise or removal of a bishop of any district, the presbyters shall not elect another bishop without a mandate from the Primus.

iv. That the bishops shall choose their own Primus, and that no bishop shall claim jurisdiction without the bounds of his own district.

v. That we have chosen Bishop Freebairn to be our Primus.

vi. That we have agreed to the following appointments to dioceses:—Bishop Duncan to Glasgow, Freebairn to Galloway, Gillan to Dunblane, Rose to the counties of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan; Rat-tray to Dunkeld, Ochterlonie to Dunkeld, Gadderar to Aberdeen, Dunbar to Moray and Ross, Lumsden to Edinburgh, Keith to Orkney, Caithness and the Isles.²

The Concordat concluded with the statement, “by the aforesaid divisions of districts we do not pretend to claim any legal title to dioceses.” It was signed on May 13, 1732 A.D., and put an end to “the College schism,” restoring peace to the Episcopal Church.

Little that is worthy of public notice was done during

¹ “Usages” here does not signify the four “usages” above referred to, which were introduced into the Scottish Liturgy, but some additional rites, *e.g.*, immersion in baptism, crism in confirmation, and unction of the sick, which some of the non-jurors strongly advocated. This is the only interpretation that saves the article from manifest inconsistency. Cf. Skinner’s “Ecclesiastical History,” ii. 647-8.

² Article VI. is not given verbatim, but only summarised.

the next decade. The Church, with a settled organisation more after a Catholic order, prospered; her "meeting-houses" multiplied, and the Liturgy became year by year more popular. A body of Canons, framed on the lines of the above Concordat, were enacted in 1743 A.D., and though at first the presbyters repudiated them as somewhat arbitrarily imposed, they took their place in the Ecclesiastical Statute-book.¹ Contrasted with the years of persecution and proscription that were soon to follow, Scottish Episcopalians must ever regard this period with much satisfaction.

In July 1745 A.D. Prince Charles landed in Scotland, and was enthusiastically received throughout the Highlands. He was as popular as "the old Chevalier" had been the reverse, and the country lay at his feet. The victory at Prestonpans excited the wildest hopes, but all were dashed when his troops were annihilated on April 16, 1746 A.D., by the Duke of Cumberland and his veterans on Culloden Moor. The cruelty with which the vanquished Highlanders were butchered, and the country was laid waste, was almost more marked in the vengeance which the conqueror wreaked upon the Church, whose sympathies had always been enlisted in the Jacobite cause. He traversed the chief strongholds of Episcopacy — Forfar, Kincardine, Moray, Banffshire, and Aberdeen—pillaged and burnt the chapels, and peremptorily forbade any service to be conducted except by Presbyterians.² Much vexatious

¹ The Canons are given in full in Grub's "Ecclesiastical History," iv. 14, &c.

² This was followed by an Act of Parliament, passed on September

legislation followed, with the avowed intention of crushing the community. A system of espionage was set on foot, Scottish orders were pronounced illegal, no more than five strangers might take part in family prayers, none were allowed to officiate as chaplains in the houses of the nobility "except the ministers, elders, or preachers of the Established Church of Scotland." These severe measures failed to do more than suppress open Episcopacy. The spirit of its adherents never flagged, and they tried every expedient to maintain their worship, often, it is true, in the dens and caves of the earth, in secluded woods, and on the mountain side, always keeping as far as possible within the letter of the law, and rigidly practising the doctrine of non-resistance; ready to fight "when their Prince called them to maintain his rights, but believing that, in their own cause and in that of the Church, such warfare was forbidden." But the period of oppression drew to a close. George II. died on October 25, 1760 A.D., and with a more impartial King and Government an era of peace and security opened for the Scottish Episcopal Church.

1, which made it penal for any pastor or minister who refused to pray for King George to exercise his functions, with six months' imprisonment for the first offence, and transportation for life for the second.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PROGRESS MADE IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Improved prospects for the Church—Bishop Falconer made Primus—The Scottish Communion Office—Bishop Rattray's Liturgical studies—Revision by Falconer and Forbes—An analysis of the contents of the Scottish Office—State of the Episcopal Church in 1782 A.D.—The American Church—Dr. Seabury's application to Scotland for consecration—Other bishops consecrated in England—Concordat between the Churches of Scotland and America—Dr. Seabury's introduction of the Scottish Office—Death of Prince Charles and directions to pray for the Hanoverian dynasty—Deputation to Parliament for repeal of penal laws—Disabling clauses—The imposition of the Thirty-nine Articles—The Synod of Laurencekirk—Bishop Jolly's defence of subscription—A code of Canons—Recommendation for clerical vestments—Death of the Primus.

THE accession of George III. inspired his Scottish Episcopalian subjects with hope. As a young man he was much more popular than either of his predecessors, and being an Englishman by birth, even those who clung to the Stuart dynasty were more favourably disposed towards him. From the first he gave proof of his intention to rule with justice and equity, and, though a long time elapsed before the penal laws of the previous reign were erased from the Statute-book, their stringency was immediately relaxed.

For the first three or four years, however, the history of the Episcopalian Church is little more than

a record of appointments to the several Sees as they fell vacant. The most noteworthy event, perhaps, was the succession of Bishop Falconer to the Primacy on the death of White in 1761 A.D.

In 1764 A.D. a step onwards was taken by the republication of the Scottish Communion Office. Twenty years before, Bishop Rattray had paved the way by his investigation of the Primitive Liturgies of the East. It is thought by some that a Liturgy (found in manuscript) compiled by him was actually used, but if so, it could only have been very sparingly. He paid especial attention to the order and sequence of the different parts of the *Anaphora*,¹ which had little correspondence with the English Liturgy. In 1755 A.D. Falconer issued an edition of the Scottish Office, embodying most of the changes suggested by Rattray. In 1762 A.D., not satisfied with his work, he undertook a further revision at the request of the bishops and in conjunction with Bishop Forbes, with a view to bringing it into exact accord with the ancient standards.² The result of their labours was put out in 1764 A.D. They seem not to have thought it necessary to issue a printed form of the earlier part of the Office, but began with the introduction following the Sermon. It will be convenient, however, here to give the Scottish Office in its completeness.³

¹ *i.e.*, The Offering—the more sacred part of the Eucharistic Office, extending from the *sursum corda* to the end.

² Skinner's "Ecclesiastical History," ii. 682.

³ Bishop Dowden, in his "Annotated Scottish Communion Office," has printed the earlier part, founded upon such evidence as a Liturgical study of the times affords, pp. 118-131.

As far as the end of the Decalogue it proceeds *pari passu* with the Anglican Office, with the exception of two rubrics, one prefixed and one subjoined; the first, to indicate that the people ask "mercy for the transgression of every duty therein, either according to the letter, or to the mystical importance of the said commandment;"¹ the second, to substitute as an alternative "of the Ten Commandments the Summary of the Law," viz., Jesus said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it—Thou shall love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." To which the people answer, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and write these Thy laws in our hearts, we beseech Thee."

From the Commandments to the Sermon there is little or no important variation, but from this point onwards the order of sequence is greatly changed. It is as follows: the exhortation, Dearly beloved in the Lord, &c.; the Offertory Sentences; a Form for Presenting the Alms; the *sursum corda*, proper Preface and Tersanctus; the Consecration Prayer,² consisting of three parts, viz., the Words of Institution, the Oblation of "the Memorial," and the Invocation; the Prayer for

¹ This rubric was in the Caroline Scottish service of 1637 A.D.; but the following alteration of the summary was not. In 1637 A.D. there were three exhortations as in the Anglican, with unimportant variations.

² The sequence of the 1637 Office was almost in accord with the Anglican, except that the Prayer of Humble Access followed the Lord's Prayer, and both preceded the administration.

the whole State of Christ's Church;¹ the Lord's Prayer; the short invitation, Ye that do truly, &c.; the Confession; the Absolution; the Comfortable Words; the Prayer of Humble Access; the administration with the benediction, viz., The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy soul and body² unto everlasting life; The Blood, &c.; the Collect of Thanksgiving, prefaced with this form," "Having now received the precious Body and Blood of Christ, let us give thanks to our Lord God, Who hath graciously vouchsafed to admit us to the participation of His holy mysteries; and let us beg of Him grace to perform our vows, and to persevere in our good resolutions; and that, being made holy, we may obtain everlasting life, through the merits of the all-sufficient sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ;" the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the Blessing.

In 1782 A.D. Bishop Falconer resigned the Primacy through age and infirmity, and died soon after. At such an epoch it will be well to review the condition of the Church over which he had presided. Just half a century had passed since "the College Schism" had been healed. Then all the dioceses were filled. Now there were only four bishops for the whole of Scotland, viz., Kilgour of Aberdeen, who succeeded Falconer as Primus, Rose of Dunkeld and Dunblane, Petric of Moray and Ross, and Skinner, coadjutor of Aberdeen.

¹ In 1637 the position was as with us, *i.e.*, separated from the Act of Consecration. For the legitimacy of this the reader is referred to Luckock's "Divine Liturgy," ch. x i.

² This was substituted for "body and soul" by Falconer.

³ This "bidding" was suggested by a somewhat similar form in some of the ancient Liturgies.

The Episcopal clergy numbered about forty in all, while the laity formed not more than one-twentieth part of the nation.¹ It was indeed, in comparison with the past, a muster-roll of vastly diminished ranks; and rarely in history has persecution and proscription done more rapid and effectual work. But, small and insignificant as the Church then was, she was soon called to engage in a work which lifted her out of her obscurity, and set her mark and influence for all time upon the Episcopal Church of the Western hemisphere.

The war of independence between Great Britain and her colonies in America terminated in 1783 A.D. England could no longer exercise Episcopal authority over those who hitherto in ecclesiastical matters had been subject to the Mother Church at home. The new democratic Government refused to acknowledge any religious communion in particular, and the Episcopalian community felt that they would soon be lost in the multitude of sects that were springing up unless they took immediate steps for the acquisition of bishops of their own. Connecticut was the first of the States to move in the matter; and its clergy, selecting Dr. Seabury as a fit and proper person for the office, sent him to England to seek consecration. They gave him a petition to the Archbishop of York (for Canterbury was vacant), earnestly supplicating that he "would espouse the cause of their sinking Church, and afford her that relief on which her very existence depended, by consecrating Dr. Seabury to be their bishop."

¹ Grub has calculated the numbers from a census taken at the Repeal of the Penal Laws a few years later. "*Ecclesiastical History*," iv. 91.

Two difficulties seemed to stand in the way of compliance; first, the fear of creating jealousy in the new Republic; and secondly, the impossibility of altering the Consecration Service without the permission of Parliament. It contained oaths of allegiance and supremacy which could not be exacted from a citizen of an independent state.

It would have caused great inconvenience to wait for the following session of Parliament, and Seabury determined to look elsewhere. The recollection of a visit to Scotland suggested the possibility of his obtaining consecration in the Scottish Church. The story is told as follows in a "Presbyterian Clergyman looking for a Church:" "A young Episcopalian from Connecticut, in going to Edinburgh to procure a medical degree, requested his host, the second day after his arrival, to tell him where he might find an Episcopal service or church. 'I will show you,' said the host; 'follow me; but we are watched with jealousy by the Presbyterians. Do not come near me; keep me barely in sight.' So, following at a distance, through the ins and outs and windings of unfrequented streets, the stranger at length saw his guide disappear suddenly into a dilapidated building, some five or six stories high, on the side of a steep hill; and, following still the sound of footsteps into the fifth or sixth story, there worshipped God according to the dictates of his conscience. This youth became afterwards a shining light at our altars, and is known in our Annals as Bishop Seabury, the Apostle of America."¹ The story is told

¹ Cf. Grub's "Ecclesiastical History," iv. 99 *n*.

not only because it shows how it was that, at a time when people had almost forgotten that there was a branch of the Apostolic Church left in Scotland, Seabury was aware of its existence, but as a witness to the hardships and disabilities of those who clung to it.

A formal application was made to the Scottish bishops to give Episcopal consecration to the Church of Connecticut, and after consultation with the Archbishop of York, they agreed to grant the petition. Seabury was consecrated at Aberdeen in a large upper room of the Bishop's house, on November 14, 1784 A.D., by three bishops—Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner—in the presence of a considerable congregation, both lay and clerical; and, as he predicted in his first charge, the memory of that happy work which the old Episcopal Church of Scotland, preserved by God under the greatest persecutions, had been the sole instrument in accomplishing, has remained "fresh in the minds of all members of the American communion to the latest posterity."¹

Two years after, other clergy of the Southern States, hearing that the obstacles had been removed which led to a rejection by the English bishops of Seabury's application, sent over Dr. White of Philadelphia and Dr. Prevost of New York, who were consecrated at Lambeth, February 4, 1787 A.D., by the two Archbishops and the Bishops of Peterborough, and Bath

¹ The extensive influence exercised by this Scottish consecration may be gathered from the fact that "the posterity" here alluded to numbered ten years ago 65 bishops, 3572 clergy, and 392,484 communicants; and they all use a Liturgy based upon primitive principles, and, in one most important feature, following that of Scotland.

and Wells. Thus the canonical number requisite for perpetuating the succession of bishops was acquired by the American Church.

Before Bishop Seabury left Scotland he met the Scottish bishops assembled in Synod, and they agreed upon seven Articles, which were intended "to serve as a Concordat or bond of union between the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland and the now rising Church in Connecticut." In the fifth of these, which was designated the "capital Article," on the Eucharistic Service, the Scottish bishops expressed an earnest wish for unity of observance, and the Bishop of Connecticut agreed "to take a serious view of the office recommended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine standards of antiquity, to give his sanction to it, and, by gentle methods of argument and persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice, without the compulsion of authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former custom on the other."

In accordance with his agreement, Bishop Seabury, in 1786 A.D., adopted for his own diocese the Scottish Office, with some few variations; and though he was unable to bring over the whole American Church to the same "Use," yet it was owing to his influence that, in 1789 A.D., when they revised the English Liturgy, which had been generally accepted, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost was introduced and the Oblation restored to its proper place—that, in short, "the Prayer of Consecration followed the Scotch model."

It was, then, alike for the gift of the Episcopate and

the recovery of a most important¹ Liturgical feature in the Eucharistic Office, that Scotland has earned the undying gratitude of a very large section of the Catholic Church.

Prince Charles Stuart died in 1788 A.D., and his death was a decided epoch in the history of the Episcopalian Church. Its members hailed the event as affording an opportunity so many wished for to abandon a political creed which, since 1745 A.D., had been little more than a sentiment. He had no legitimate issue, and his only brother, Henry, was a Cardinal, excluded, by virtue of his sacred calling, from succession to the throne. There need, therefore, be no hesitation on the part of the Jacobites in transferring their allegiance to the Hanoverian dynasty; and the Scottish prelates at once issued directions that King George and the royal family should henceforward be publicly prayed for in service, according to the form in the English Prayer-book.²

Bishop Skinner, who had become Primus on the death of Kilgour, was mainly instrumental in effecting the reconciliation; and having succeeded so well, he

¹ Bishop Dowden has reminded us of the great store which the American Church sets upon this feature in the Office, by quoting the opinion of the present successor of Seabury in the See of Connecticut, that "in giving the primitive form of consecration, Scotland gave us a greater boon than when she gave us the Episcopate." "The Annotated Scottish Communion Office," p. 117.

² The decree was only resisted by two of the whole body of Episcopals, viz., Mr. Brown of Montrose, and the aged Bishop Rose of Dunblane. The clergy of Aberdeen, nevertheless, after accepting it, tried for permission to pray in a different form, and there was a good deal of opposition and "praying backwards" in this diocese. Walker's "Life of Skinner," p. 78.

seized the opportunity of creating an agitation for the repeal of the penal laws enacted in the preceding reigns. In company with Bishops Drummond and Strachan, he made a journey to London, laid their case before the Government, and got a Bill for their relief brought into Parliament.¹ It met with obstinate opposition in the Upper House from Lord Chancellor Thurlow, and was thrown out. But the agitation was not allowed to subside, and, being reintroduced a few years later, it met with better success. The Chancellor, however, refused to let it pass without two disabling clauses. The first obliged the Scottish clergy to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles as a sign of their orthodoxy² and agreement with the English Church; the second made any person exercising ministerial functions in the Scottish Church incapable of holding a benefice or curacy, or even of officiating in any church or chapel in England, unless he had been ordained by an English or Irish bishop. This latter clause went far to destroy the character and defeat the object of the Bill, but it received the royal assent on June 15, 1792 A.D., and was gladly welcomed as at least an instalment of better things.

The imposition of this Anglican test became very unpopular, and the bishops called a Synod at Laurence-

¹ It was carried through the House of Commons in fifteen days, and without any dissent.

² There was some wisdom in the proviso, for at this time the Scottish Church had no Articles of Faith or authorised Confession of their own. There were many doctrines involved that were unacceptable to the Scotch clergy, especially the alleged Calvinism of Articles XVII. and XXV. ; but it was carefully explained to the Primus that they were only required to subscribe to "the general doctrine" of them.

Lirk, in 1804 A.D., for a consideration of the question. Jolly, meanwhile, had been raised to the Episcopate, and he took upon himself the task of defending subscription. Reviewing the history of standards of faith and doctrine, he dwelt upon the fact that those who framed the first draft of the Articles were the self-same divines who had issued "the admirable Liturgy" of 1549 A.D., and this, he urged, ought to be a sufficient guarantee that the doctrine of the Confession had been misinterpreted. It would not be understood that they accepted the Articles otherwise than as being in unison with the Liturgy, or "any expressions in them as in the least inimical to our practice at the altar in the use of the Scottish Communion Office." He further substantiated his case by appealing to the example of such Catholic divines as Andrewes, Laud, Mede, Taylor, and Bull, all of whom had been able to subscribe without doing violence to their conscience.¹ His appeal was successful, and all present, bishops and clergy, expressed their willingness to accept the test.

About this time the Primus succeeded in healing the divisions between the clergy of English or Irish ordination working in Scotland, and those ordained in the Scottish Church; but the closing of the schism created some fears among the latter lest the desire to bring the supporters of the English jurisdiction into closer union with those who accepted the Scottish should lead to a preference for the Liturgy of the former. This, it was felt, would be a retrograde measure, and Bishop

¹ Skinner's "Annals," Appendix, pp. 544-549. Grub's "Ecclesiastical History," iv. 116-121.

Skinner, acting in concert with Jolly, took upon himself to exact the following declaration from all who should be elected to the Episcopate:—"I will co-operate with my colleagues in supporting a steady adherence to the matter and doctrines by which our Church has been so happily distinguished, and particularly to the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, as laid down in our Communion Office, the use of which I will strenuously recommend by my own practice, and by every other means in my power."

The time seemed now to have arrived for framing a more complete code of Canons for the government of the Church than that which the bishops had drawn up in 1743 A.D.¹ A Synod was summoned to Aberdeen for June 19, 1811 A.D. It was attended by all the existing bishops, by the Deans of Edinburgh, Dunkeld, Brechin, and Aberdeen, and one delegate from the clergy in each diocese. Hitherto the bishops had done no more than advise with the deans; now they determined to give to the second order an independent authority, by establishing a second chamber in the Synod, and making its assent to the enactment or abrogation of Canons equally obligatory with that of the first.

Another change affected the Communion Service. In 1743 A.D. the most the bishops had undertaken was "to recommend to their clergy, in the strongest manner, to use the Scottish Liturgy;" now they drew up a Canon which, while it affirmed the right to use

¹ At this Synod the Presbyters took no part; the Canons were issued solely on the authority of the bishops. It will be seen, therefore, that a decided change was made in 1811 A.D.

the English Office in all congregations where it had been in use before, enacted that the Scottish Office shall be used in all consecrations of bishops, and that every bishop shall give his full assent to it, as "of primary authority in Scotland," and not permit its being laid aside when it had been once adopted.¹ The sixteen Canons of 1743 A.D. were enlarged to twenty-five. Many additional changes were introduced, but we notice one matter especially, as indicative of the Scottish aversion to vestments; it touches "the clerical habit," and shows what extreme caution was needed in those days even in enforcing the use of the surplice. Appended to the Canons was the following recommendation:—"As it has been represented to the Synod that different dresses have of late been worn by the clergy officiating in this Church, and whereas more importance seems to have been attached to the colour of the clerical vestments than can properly be ascribed to any colour, it is hereby declared that it is not essential to the purity of public worship whether the clergyman, when reading prayers, be arrayed in a white or in a black vestment. Yet, as the white garment was the proper sacerdotal vestment of the Jewish priesthood, and likewise of the Christian priesthood through the universal Church for at least fourteen hundred years; as it is the proper sacerdotal vestment in the United Church of England and Ireland, with which the Episcopal Church of Scotland is in full communion; and as white seems to be a much more proper dress for the

¹ The influence of the North succeeded, but the South was destined to have the pre-eminence, and was sure to reverse the order. In 1862 the English Office received the first, the Scottish the second place.

ministers of the Prince of Peace and Purity than black, if propriety can be attached to any colour, the Synod recommends to the several clergy to wear the surplice when publicly reading prayers, or administering the sacraments, but to introduce it with prudence and discretion, by explaining, where they find it necessary, the principles on which they have adopted the use of this very decent dress."

This Synod was the last important public work associated with Bishop Skinner. He died in 1816 A.D., having fulfilled an eventful Episcopate, in raising the Church from the lowest state of depression, by persevering devotion to its interests, and singular wisdom amidst conspicuous trials and difficulties. Shortly after his death the long reign of George III. closed, January 9, 1820 A.D.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PRESBYTERIAN SECESSIONS.

Professor Simson delated for heresy—Dismissed with a caution—The Auchterarder Creed—"The Marrow of Modern Divinity"—Simson again prosecuted—The animus of the Presbytery—The question of Patronage revived—"The riding committees"—The divine right of congregations broached—Erskine's sermon before the Synod of Perth—The preacher condemned—"The Associated Presbytery" formed—The General Assembly try to undo the mischief—A complete reversal of policy—The first schism consummated—The rise of the "Burghers" and "Anti-Burghers"—Difficult cases of Patronage, and opposing decisions of the courts—The "Moderate" and the "Popular" parties—The presentation to the parish of Torphichen—Home of Athelstaneford and Robertson of Gladsmuir—The presentation to Inverkeithing—Robertson's "Reasons of Dissent"—Gillespie tried and condemned—The second secession—"The Presbytery of Relief."

THE rebellion against the Hanoverian dynasty had hardly abated when the whole of the Presbyterian community was agitated by a succession of disputes on doctrine and ecclesiastical government, which ended in an irreconcilable schism. The proto-heretic of this epoch was Professor Simson of Glasgow University. He was delated to the Presbytery for having taught in his lecture-room Pelagian and Arminian heresies, by attributing too much to natural reason and the power of a corrupt nature. The case was referred to the General Assembly in 1717 A.D., which, after hearing his explanations, was satisfied with administering a caution

that he would be more guarded in his expressions for the future. Such leniency in a case where the teaching of candidates for the ministry was involved seemed to the more old-fashioned Presbyterians to amount to absolute unfaithfulness, and at Auchterarder they took the earliest opportunity of showing their disapprobation. The Presbytery, having before them an applicant for a licence to preach, whose orthodoxy was suspected, formulated a series of tests, and required his subscription. One will suffice to indicate their character: "I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ." It was an infringement on the authority of the General Assembly, as well as contrary to his belief, and he peremptorily refused to subscribe. The "Auchterarder Creed" was at once brought under discussion by the supreme authority, and most severely handled. Its defenders pressed that it was no more than an acknowledgment of the paramount obligation to trust entirely to Christ to take away all sin; but, in its plain obvious teaching, it was Antinomian, and calculated to set aside the need of repentance.

The discussion led to the republication of a long-forgotten treatise entitled "The Marrow of Modern Divinity." It had been written in the time of Cromwell on the relative merits of grace and works, which were discussed in dialogue between certain fictitious characters, named Evangelist, Legalist, Antinomian, and Neophyte. The following are two of the dangerous conclusions arrived at: "Holiness is not necessary to salvation," and "A believer is not under the law as

a rule of life.”¹ This, too, was brought before the General Assembly, and its teaching pronounced heretical. Such a decision was not likely to pass unchallenged, and Ebenezer Erskine with eleven others,² henceforth designated “Marrow Men,” lodged an appeal, praying that the case might be reconsidered. No public censure was pronounced, and no legal action taken, but the excitement was suffered to die quietly out.

The case was hardly forgotten when the whole community was disturbed by a fresh outbreak of heresy on the part of Professor Simson, and on a question of vital import. He was accused of denying the divinity of our Blessed Lord, and being generally unsound on the doctrine of the Trinity. The examination of the accused was delegated to the Presbytery of Glasgow, and carried on in a most unseemly manner. Undergraduates were summoned, and called upon to give their opinion of the orthodoxy of lectures which they had heard only in Latin, and in some cases they were made to swear to the *ipsissima verba*. Such as were prejudiced against him gave their evidence recklessly; while others, who were loyal to their master, pleaded the impossibility of recalling the niceties of doctrinal distinctions which they had heard a year before, and then in a language they only imperfectly understood. The greatest counsel of the day, Dundas of Arniston, cross-

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1720.

² Boston of Ettrick, Hog of Carnock, Bonar of Torphichen, Ralph Erskine and Wardlaw of Dunfermline, Davidson of Galashiels, Bathgate of Orwell, Williamson of Inveresk, Wilson of Maxton, Kid of Queensferry, and Hunter of Lilliesleaf.

examined the prosecutors, and exposed the weakness of their evidence with merciless severity. Moreover, the accused came before the Assembly, and expressed his willingness to retract anything that could bear an heretical interpretation; but such was the animus of the Presbytery, they did not hesitate to condemn him. No agreement, however, could be come to upon the terms of condemnation. Excommunication, deprivation, suspension, such were the alternatives proposed and rejected. At last they decided to defer the sentence till all the Presbyteries in the country had been consulted. Even then the decision was left doubtful, and, moderate counsel prevailing, he was suspended till such time as the General Assembly should see fit to remove the suspension. It goes without saying that the "Marrow Men" were indignant; Boston, speaking as their mouthpiece, declared that "the cause of Jesus Christ has been at the bar of the Assembly calling for justice, and as one who would shortly have to appear at His bar to answer for all he said or did, he dared not give his assent to the decision."¹ This moderation of the majority brought the impending secession a step nearer. It was reached almost immediately afterwards by the resuscitation of the question of Patronage.

The Patronage Act of 1712 A.D. had signally failed, and difficulties had sprung up touching its right interpretation again and again. Sometimes objections were raised to the patron's presentation; sometimes the simple choice of "the heritors and elders" was accepted; sometimes, again, "the call" from the congre-

¹ Boston's "Memoirs," p. 354.

gation by itself was held sufficient, and this last was being pressed as the only principle consistent with true Presbyterianism. So many disputes arose that it became necessary to appoint commissioners to control proceedings and superintend the filling up of vacancies. They became known as "riding committees," because it devolved upon them oftener than not to override decisions already arrived at. The "Moderate" party upheld the rights of the patrons, or, in cases where these had been parted with according to the Act of 1690 A.D., of "the heritors and elders;" but there was an extreme section of the community which insisted, now for the first time, on *the divine right* of congregations to choose their ministers. Erskine was dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Assembly, and, preaching as Moderator before the Perth Presbytery, he denounced the "Act anent Calls" as a dishonour to Christ, and with daring presumption, if not positive profanity, declared that if Christ were personally present He would endorse what he said. The Synod, instead of thanking the preacher, censured him for his language, and called upon him to withdraw it as "offensive, and calculated to disturb the peace and order of the Church;" but he obstinately refused, and he, together with three others¹ who sided with him, was summoned to the bar of the Assembly, when all were suspended from the exercise of their ministry in November 1733 A.D. No sooner had the Moderator delivered the judgment of the Presbytery, than the condemned minis-

¹ Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy, James Fisher of Kinclaven, and William Wilson of Perth.

ters defied the Assembly to put it into execution, declaring their determination to secede rather than yield. The opening and concluding words of their declaration will suffice to express their purpose: "We do protest in our own name, and in the name of all and every one in our respective congregations adhering to us, that notwithstanding this sentence passed against us, our pastoral relation shall be held and reputed firm and valid. . . . For these and many other weighty reasons to be laid open in due time, we protest that we are obliged to make a secession, and that we can have no communion with them till they see their sins and mistakes, and amend them."

In the following month, on December 5, they met at the village of Gairney Bridge, near Kinross, and constituted themselves an independent body under the title of "the Associated Presbytery."

It was the first schism in the Presbyterian Church. The seceders were regarded as martyrs for conscience' sake by the bulk of the people, and enlisted widespread sympathy. The General Assembly took immediate measures to undo the mischief of their action. They modified or rescinded their late decisions; they expressed their readiness to restore the suspended ministers "fully and freely." The Synod of Stirling even offered the Moderator's chair to the leader of the seceders. There was probably never a case in history of such a sudden and complete reversal of policy. "Never," it has been said, "did the Church so humble itself to obtain the return of its own children to its bosom. It seemed upon its bended knees to implore

them to come back. It yielded up all they asked ; it repealed its own laws ; it threw a slur upon its own procedure ; it came down from its own high place in order to please them," but they were inexorable. Their motives have been freely, often severely, criticised ; they have been charged with pride, ambition, and selfishness ; but it is more in character with the men to attribute their obstinacy to a purely religious conviction. They saw in this reaction a mere concession to laws of expediency, an attempt "to daub a broken wall with untempered mortar ;" and in the absence of any guarantee for the real repentance of the community, they remained unshaken. The patience of the Assembly was at length exhausted, and on May 15, 1740 A.D., the seceders were formally and finally severed from the Establishment. They accepted their sentence, and offered no resistance when the civil authorities ejected them from the churches, though they might have enlisted almost the whole populace in some places on their side. Wilson struck the keynote of their determination when, preaching beneath the open sky at Perth, he gave out for his text, "Let us go forth, therefore, unto Him without the camp, bearing His reproach" (Hebrews xiii. 13).

When once the unity of a body is broken, divisions rapidly multiply. The first secession was soon succeeded by a second, but not before the seceding party had itself been split into hostile camps. The burgesses of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth were required before entering upon office to take an oath in which they declared their hearty acceptance of "the true religion

presently professed within this realm and authorised by the law thereof." The more ardent followers of Erskine chose to put an unnatural interpretation upon it, laying stress on the first clause alone, and asserting that "the true religion" could only mean that which they themselves professed, and for which they had made such sacrifices. Those, on the other hand, who took the common-sense view of the case, argued that the second clause was explanatory of the first, and that the words "authorised by law" left no manner of doubt what the oath involved. No seceder could possibly take it without the gravest inconsistency, amounting almost to perjury. The supporters of the former view were called "Burghers," those of the latter "Anti-Burghers." Both parties held immovably to their respective interpretations. The subject was debated for some days in Synod with unseemly strife and bitterness, and at last, in 1747 A.D., just seven years after "the Associated Presbytery" had been severed from the Establishment, it was split into two branches, which, like the Greek and Latin Churches in the eleventh century, proceeded to the extremity of mutual excommunication.

There is a strange irony in the fact that Erskine, who had himself formed the party of secession, and persuaded them that they were "the only true people of God," should have been "delivered over to Satan" by children of his own creation. The Anti-Burghers cast him out of the pale of communion, and he died without reconciliation, in their eyes "a heathen man and a publican."

The Presbyterian Establishment, even after the seces-

sion of 1740 A.D., was torn with discord. The old bone of contention was still left, and the rights of patronage were constantly being contested. In the settlement of the question the civil and ecclesiastical courts were pitted against each other, and much bitterness and jealousy sprang up in consequence.

Several cases of special interest came before the courts in quick succession between 1750-1752 A.D. The first was in connection with an appointment to the ministry of Lanark. Mr. Dick had been nominated by the lay-patron, Lockhart of Lee, and the Presbytery supported the nomination; but the magistrates and the Crown resisted, and, claiming the right of presentation, appointed Mr. Gray. The General Assembly decided in favour of the former, the Court of Session in favour of the latter; and though the civil power felt unable to dislodge Mr. Dick from the exercise of spiritual functions entrusted to him by a spiritual body, they deprived him of the revenues of the benefice, and he continued for four years to serve the ministry without a stipend.

The case created much discussion, and helped materially to divide the Presbyterian Church into two distinct sections, called respectively the "Moderate" and the "Popular" party. The "Moderates" held distinctly Erastian views, and determined to enforce the law, whatever it was and however imposed, and accept without inquiry the nominee of the legal patron. Private judgment and conscience, they maintained, must be set aside to uphold the constitution.

The "Popular" party, strongly imbued with the new

doctrine of "the divine right" of the congregation to choose its own minister, maintained the supremacy of conscience and God's Word, and if these came into conflict with the law of the land, the law must go to the wall. Their views soon took a concrete form, for the General Assembly was appealed to in reference to the parish of Torphichen. A Mr. Watson had been duly presented, but out of one thousand members of the congregation, only five could be induced to sign his "call." The Assembly, nevertheless, ordered the Presbytery to induct him to the living, which they refused to do. In the debates which their refusal called forth the "Moderates" made a determined effort to establish their principles. Two of the most remarkable men of the time spoke in support of them, viz., Home of Athelstaneford and Robertson of Gladsmuir. Both of them rose to fame, especially in literature—Home as the writer of the drama of "Douglas,"¹ Robertson² as a historian of the widest celebrity.

¹ Its publication and production at Edinburgh in 1756 A.D. plunged the Scottish community into bitter disputes. Presbyterians had long regarded the stage as immoral, and it was a thing almost unheard of that a minister should be present at a theatrical performance. The Presbytery of Edinburgh issued an "Admonition," in which they spoke of the "unprecedented countenance recently given to the playhouse." Home was compelled to resign his post, and many others who had been present at the play were severely rebuked. The General Assembly tried to forbid all members of the Presbyterian Church to attend the theatre, but they were obliged to be satisfied in debarring the ministry. Cf. *Acts of Assembly*, Morren's "Annals," vol. ii. pp. 112-130.

² As Dr. Robertson became such a power in the Assembly, it may be well to notice his views upon this crucial question of Patronage. They are well set forth by D. Stewart in an Appendix to his *Life and Writings* (Note M. p. lxxiv.). "His system with respect to the law of patronage proceeded on the following principles:—"As patronage is the law of the land, the courts of a national Church and all the individual ministers

The speakers, powerful as they were in favour of extreme measures, did not carry the Assembly completely with them, but a majority decided to censure the Presbytery for contumacy. Another opportunity soon offered for returning to the charge, and this time with greater success, though many would think it was dearly purchased. A Mr. Richardson was presented to the living of Inverkeithing, but the people protested, and the Presbytery of Dunfermline, to which the parish belonged, and subsequently the Synod of Fife, refused to induct him. The General Assembly was appealed to, and Robertson bent all his energies to uphold his principles, embodying them in a document entitled "Reasons of Dissent," the conclusion of which will indicate its tenor: "Presbyterian government is distinguished by two capital things—parity of ministers and subordination of Church courts. It is essential to the very idea of supreme judicature that its sentences be absolute and final; that such a supreme judicature was the General Assembly; and that disputing or disobeying its judgments by inferior courts was overturning the Presbyterian constitution and setting up English Independency, falsely called liberty of conscience."

are bound . . . to give it effect. Every opposition to the legal rights of the patrons tends to diminish that reverence which all the subjects of a free Government ought to entertain for the law. The Church courts betrayed their duty when negligence in enforcing obedience fostered in the minds of the people the false idea that they have a right to choose their own ministers, or even a negative upon the nomination of the patron . . . The people are not competent judges of those qualities which a minister should possess. . . . If the probationers of the Church were taught to depend on a popular election, many of them would be tempted to adopt a manner of preaching more calculated to please the people than promote edification."

Inspired by Robertson's appeal, the General Assembly determined to deal with the recusant Presbytery under penalty of "a very high censure." They were summoned to the bar of the House, and six of them, who were unwilling to yield, entered a protest in defence of their conduct; but it was resolved by ninety-six votes to sixty-five to make an example of one of the number, and depose him from his office. When it came to the selection of the victim of their displeasure, no less than a hundred shrank from the responsibility of voting; the rest gave an almost unanimous vote for Gillespie of Carnock. Upon what principle he was chosen it is impossible to conjecture, for he was a man of stainless reputation, and his defence bespeaks a character little calculated to make enemies. "I desire," he said, "to receive this sentence with real concern, and awful impressions of the divine conduct in it; but I rejoice that to me it is given in Christ's behalf, not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer for His sake."

He lived in comparative retirement for nine years, but at last, finding no prospect of the door being opened for his recall, he, in company with Boston, son of the famous minister of Ettrick, and Colier of Colinsburg, in Fife, constituted an independent communion on October 22, 1761 A.D., and entitled it "the Presbytery of Relief."¹ This was the second secession from the Establishment. It lasted on till the seceders merged themselves in "the United Presbyterian Church."

¹ Cf. Morren's "Annals," vol. i. pp. 198-280. Struther's "Rise of the Relief Church," pp. 213-226.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS APATHY— THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Distinction in secular literature—Famous historians, Robertson, Ferguson, and Henry—Philosophers, Reid, Stewart, and Beattie—The author of "Douglas"—Sacred writers, Blair, Campbell, and Macknight—Metrical Paraphrases—Testimony of history to the irreligion of the age—The mission of the Haldanes and Rowland Hill—Refusal to take part in Foreign Missions—The desolation of the Churches—Religious controversies—The contest for the Mathematical Chair at Edinburgh—The inconsistencies of Moderates and Evangelicals—The Row Controversy—The deposition of Campbell—The early years of Edward Irving—His call to London—His style of preaching—His rise and fall—His irregularities—His trial before the Assembly and deposition.

THE latter half of the eighteenth century was far more distinguished in the Presbyterian Church for the promotion of secular learning and knowledge than for religious progress.

In the field of history there are few writers that have surpassed Robertson. His volumes on the histories of Scotland, of America, and of Charles V., are still read with interest and admiration. No higher praise could have been given than the wish which Gibbon is said to have expressed, that he might be able to imitate them.

Two other historians of note lived in this period—Adam Ferguson, who wrote "The Roman Republic,"

and Robert Henry, author of the "History of Great Britain."

The study of philosophy was largely developed by Reid,¹ Dugald Stewart, and Beattie,² who created a Metaphysical School that became famous throughout the world.

In the drama, Home of Athelstane will always be remembered in Scotland as the author of "Douglas," a play which turned the country upside down when it was first acted at Edinburgh. It called forth such admiration when put on the stage in London that a patriotic Scot is said to have asked an envious Englishman, "Whaur's your Wullie Shakespeare noo?"

It was these great literary triumphs that have caused this period to be designated "the Augustan age of Scotland in literature and science."

There were few contemporary sacred writers, and these vastly inferior. The name of Blair, it is true, spread far and wide, and his sermons became for several generations a household treasure. They were translated into almost every European language; they called forth the praise of such a critic as Dr. Johnson, as models of composition, and George III. said it would be a source of satisfaction if they might be put in the hands of every youth in his Dominions; but

¹ He succeeded Adam as Moral Philosophy professor at Glasgow. His chief work was his "Inquiry into the Human Mind."

² It was in reference to his essay on the "Nature and Immutability of Truth" that George III. said to him: "I never stole but one book, and that was yours; I stole it from the Queen to give it to Lord Hertford." It was written in a more popular form than Reid's, and was very widely read.

they are nothing more than moral essays,¹ destitute of all distinction of Christian doctrine. Had not the age in which he lived been one of marked religious sterility, their repute and popularity would without question have been greatly diminished.

Campbell, in his "Dissertation on Miracles," was considered to have written an able and effective reply to David Hume, completely overthrowing his fundamental principle that "experience is the basis of belief."

Macknight compiled a Harmony of the Gospels which was long regarded as a standard work among divines, and he spent no less than thirty years in writing a commentary on the Apostolic Epistles, which held a high position with Biblical scholars. The only other religious work emanating from the Scottish press at this period was the Metrical Paraphrases, composed by Blair, Cameron, Doddridge, Logan, and Watts. They were accounted "a boon to the Church," and they certainly did something to awaken the torpid emotions of the worshipper; but though they have maintained their place almost to the present time, it is difficult to account for it.

This is not much to set down to the credit of the Church during half a century, but there is little more to call for admiration. All history witnesses to the religious apathy of the age, and especially to the indifference of the Presbyterian ministry, even in parts

¹ They are the expansion of a thesis, "*De Fundamentis et Obligatione Legis Naturæ*," which he had printed in early life, as an essay, on taking his M.A. degree.

to their careless and profligate living. One of the latest writers has denounced in vigorous terms the littleness of mind, the love of persecution, and the illiberal Protestantism which steeped the people in prejudices, and made them "the laughing-stock of Europe, and turned the very name of the Scotch Kirk into a byword and reproach among educated men.¹"

A determined but unsuccessful effort was made at the close of the century to awaken the Church to a sense of responsibility. Two Evangelical preachers, James and Robert Haldane, attempted to do for Scotland what the Wesleys had done for England. Unlike the English revivalists they had no orders, and the only credentials of their mission that they carried with them was a burning zeal for the salvation of souls, and an intense belief that they were called to do "the work of an Evangelist." On their first missionary journey through the country they distributed countless tracts, and established no less than sixty Sunday-schools. They associated themselves with Rowland Hill,² who had been stirred at Cambridge by the impassioned appeals of Whitfield, and they made "gospel tours" in every part of Scotland, preaching mostly in the open air and attracting enormous crowds. On one occasion, it is said, as many as 20,000 gathered to hear them on Calton Hill at Edinburgh. Much of their eloquence was spent in

¹ Buckle's "History of Civilisation," iii. 185.

² Hill was in deacon's orders, but owing to his irregularities was never admitted to the priesthood.

reproving the parish ministers, whom they denounced as "mere moralists and infidels."

Smarting under the reproof, the Church took up a hostile attitude,¹ and the Haldanes were driven by the hostility of the Assembly into open schism, and little permanent good was effected by their well-intentioned labours.

If the Church was aroused for the moment, it was only to sink again into indifference and sloth. No better evidence can be furnished than the part which the Presbyterians took in connection with Foreign Missions at this time. The desire to impart to others the blessings it enjoys is one of the surest touchstones of religious life in a Church.

At the close of the eighteenth century a wave of missionary zeal began to pass over the Churches of Europe. In its course it touched Scotland, and a few of the more earnest took up the cause. The Synod of Moray proposed an annual collection in all the churches, and the Synod of Fife appealed to the Assembly to take immediate steps for the conversion of the heathen.

The proposal called forth frequent and animated, even angry, debates. Hamilton of Gladsmuir was the mouthpiece of the opposition, and he put forward all the familiar arguments about charity beginning at home, and the need of setting one's own house in order before intruding into that of foreigners; and his arguments were applauded by the ministers and elders. Hill denounced the missionary societies as "highly

¹ All sections of Presbyterians, the Synod of Relief, the Anti-burghers, and others passed votes of condemnation, and forbade the people to attend their preaching.

dangerous to the good order of society." At last, Erskine losing patience, rose and arrested attention by the memorable appeal: "Moderator, *rax*¹ me that Bible." He turned its leaves, read the account of S. Paul's shipwreck, and his miracle on the island of Melita, and asked in impassioned tones whether they doubted that the Apostle preached Christ to the barbarians, and explained by Whose Name it was that such power had been given to men. But his appeal fell on listless ears; the religious apathy of the Assembly made them indifferent, and it was voted by a large majority that it would be inexpedient to institute a general collection, and that the time was unfavourable for carrying out the proposals which had been laid before them.

There is yet another form in which the paralysis of religious zeal manifested itself; it is in the utter desolation of the churches and places of worship. We have it on the confession of a Presbyterian that it was "the dark age of ecclesiastical architecture" in Scotland. During the whole of the eighteenth century no church had been reared with any pretensions for beauty, scarcely for decency; and those that had been built before were rapidly crumbling into ruin. "In some the roof was in daily danger of falling in; in some there were no seats; in very many the earthen floor sent agues and rheumatisms into the feet of the worshippers. Some were much more like sheds for cattle than temples consecrated to God. The damp air which met the parishioner as he entered was like the noxious atmos-

¹ *Rax*, *i.e.*, give, hand to me.

phere of a burial vault or an underground cellar. The heritors who held the teinds first starved the Church, and then made its miserable condition the pretext for abandoning it."¹ All this witnesses to the general neglect of religion. Burns, however, has redeemed the age from the charge of being utterly careless and depraved. His satire of the "Holy Fair" shows that the dissipation of the time was not unrelieved by devotion, and his "Cottar's Saturday Night," as well as Sir Walter Scott's account of peasant life in "The Heart of Midlothian," bears witness to the survival of piety in the homes of the poor.

This age of stagnation was succeeded by a succession of religious controversies. The nineteenth century opened with a dispute which placed the two parties of "Moderates" and "Evangelicals" in most determined antagonism; and, strange to say, for the maintenance of principles quite inconsistent with their special characteristics, the former constituted themselves the champions of orthodoxy, the latter of freedom of opinion. The Chair of Mathematics in Edinburgh University fell vacant; two candidates came forward for the appointment—Macknight, a Presbyterian minister, and Leslie, a layman. The latter was "a profound and inventive geometer," with the highest testimonials from the leaders of the scientific world; and the patrons decided to elect him to the professorship. His opponents raised the cry of heresy and atheism, and attempted to revive the disused subscription to the Confession of

¹ Cunningham quotes from a report laid before the General Assembly of an official visit made to the Highlands in 1760. "History," ii. 419.

Faith for lay-members of the University; but being met by a plain and distinct avowal of his religious belief by Mr. Leslie, they attacked some particular expressions in one of his chief scientific works,¹ in which he spoke favourably of passages in Hume's writings. They went so far as to address a remonstrance to the magistrates of the city, who were the patrons of the chair; but it was rejected, and the election at once made. The matter was brought before the General Assembly, which was prayed to stay the appointment; but after two days of keen and acrimonious debate, it was decided by ninety-six to eighty-four votes not to interfere. The discussion reflected the greatest discredit upon the Moderates, who not only departed from their traditional principles, but evinced a spirit of unfairness and bitter prejudice rarely exceeded.² It was the beginning of the downfall of their influence in the Assembly.

The next controversy which engaged the attention of the Assembly was caused by a repudiation of the hereditary Calvinism of Presbyterians by Campbell, minister of Row. His preaching soon became famous, for his parish was a favourite watering-place, much frequented by the merchants of Glasgow, who were shocked at the variance of his novel opinions from the teaching of the Westminster Confession. The one deep truth that his mind had fastened upon, in his independent study of Holy Scripture, was the universal

¹ "Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat."

² Cf. Professor Dugald Stewart's "Statement of some Important Facts," and a summary of the whole proceedings in the *Edinburgh Review*, vii. 113-134.

love of God. Bred up as he had been in the narrowest school of Calvinism, it came to him like a new revelation, and he could not rest till he had made it known; but his preaching was speedily checked. He was summoned to the Bar of the Assembly in 1831 A.D., and charged with holding two heretical tenets—that the atonement and pardon through Christ's death extended to all men, and that the doctrine of assurance was of the essence of the faith. He made an able defence, but it failed to move his hearers, who had prejudged the case; and in spite of a touching appeal from his aged father, an honoured member of the Assembly, he was almost unanimously condemned. Both parties, Moderates and Evangelicals, united for his overthrow, only 6 out of 125 voting in his favour. He was deposed from the ministry, but refused to leave the communion of the Church, spending his time contentedly in retirement and study, which resulted twenty years later in the publication of his well-known work on the "Nature of the Atonement."

In the same year in which Campbell was tried the Assembly was called upon to adjudicate upon the orthodoxy of Edward Irving. After serving as an assistant to Chalmers at Glasgow, he was made minister of the Caledonian Church of Hatton Garden, London.

In his early days he was heard to say that he believed that a new style of preaching was possible; and he certainly fulfilled his own prediction. Forsaking the ordinary methods of pulpit oratory, with its theological disquisitions and doctrinal themes, and

seizing the events of the day—politics, poetry, habits, practices—he discussed them, wherever they seemed to need it, with the severest satire and unsparing invective. Canning made a casual allusion in the House of Commons to his striking eloquence, and he sprang into popularity at once in England. It had been his great desire to bring within the sphere of his influence “the votaries of fashion, of literature, of sentiment, of policy and of rank, who were content in their several idolatries to do without piety to God, and love to Him whom He had sent,” and his desire was realised, for every Sunday they thronged to his chapel, and hung spell-bound upon his words. But it was a brief popularity: within a few years “fashion had taken its departure,” and his church was no longer crowded. His “irregularities” had begun. He claimed the gift of prophecy, indulged in the wildest mysticism, and adopted millenarian views. Failing in England, he returned to his native country, where he identified himself with an obscure sect, who professed to have received the Pentecostal gifts. He was charged before the Assembly of believing in the sinfulness of Christ’s humanity, and condemned, the Presbytery of Annan being ordered to depose him from the ministry, in the very Church where he had been baptized and ordained.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE TEN YEARS' CONFLICT—THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Effects of the Reform Bill—The question of patronage—The constitutional method of filling vacancies—The “call” an empty form—Overtures for its restoration—The Moderate and Popular parties engage in the dispute—The former defeated—Chapels-of-ease : disabilities of their ministers—The adoption of the Veto Act by the Assembly—Of the Chapel Act—The Auchterarder case of patronage—History of the case—The Lethenby case—The Strathbogie case ; suspension of the Presbyters ; their deposition—Efforts made for Parliamentary legislation—The Claim, Declaration, and Protest—A Convocation of Non-Intrusionist ministers—Resolution to secede—Last meeting of the Assembly before the Disruption—The Protest and Exodus—The formation of the Free Church of Scotland.

THE passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 A.D. was an important epoch in the history of the Presbyterian Church. The people had obtained a voice in the election of their national representatives : it seemed to them only another step in the same direction to secure the right of choosing their spiritual ministry. Anti-patronage and voluntary Church Societies were formed in all parts of the country, and efforts made to separate the union of Church and State, and give to congregations the entire control of all spiritual appointments. The latter object was forced into the forefront of public attention. It had been a time-honoured custom in Scotland that no minister should be intruded upon a

congregation at the sole will of the patron. When a cure fell vacant the patron nominated, and called upon the Presbytery "to take trial of the qualifications, literature, good life, and conversation" of the presentee. He thereupon conducted public worship in the vacant church, and members of the congregation were invited to subscribe his "call." After this was signed, the Presbytery decided whether he should be accepted or not. Thus the action of both the congregation and the Presbytery was necessary—the one to initiate, the other to confirm or reject: neither could claim supreme control, for though the Presbytery had arbitrary judicial powers, they could not exercise them till the congregation had given the preliminary "call." Such had been the ancient constitutional process; but during the last hundred years the "call" had degenerated into a mere empty form, the voice of the patron having become decisive, and his nominee being accepted by the Presbytery without dispute. It was this principle of "intrusion" that called for correction.

In 1833 A.D. a large number¹ of Presbyteries laid overtures before the Assembly, praying for a restoration of the "call." The "Moderates" were represented by Cook; the "Populars," or "Evangelicals," by Chalmers. Two methods were suggested by which the rights of the people could be recovered—one by making a positive call a *sine qua non*, the other by giving to a majority of the congregation an absolute veto. Chalmers believed that the latter was the more

¹ The number has been much debated, as it is not entered in the Acts of the Assembly. Some say 42, others 65.

feasible plan ; he therefore laid his proposals before the Assembly, "that the majority of dissentient voices should place a veto on every presentation." He argued strongly that the dissent should be *ipso facto* conclusive, with or without the assignment of reasons, adding, however, an important proviso, that no dissent should be allowed if corrupt or malicious motives could be shown to have influenced it.

Cook proposed an alternative, allowing to the heads of families in the congregation full liberty to object, but leaving it with the Presbytery, in the exercise of its ancient prerogative, to acquiesce or reject. The subject was debated at length, and Chalmers was defeated by a majority of 12 votes. It was the last victory of the Moderates in the Assembly.

Another important matter was brought forward at the same session ; it concerned the legal status of "chapels-of-ease." Before the treaty of 1707 A.D. the extension of the Church had been greatly obstructed ; it was barred by a statute prohibiting the erection of new parishes save under what proved to be prohibitory conditions.¹ Private chapels, dependent upon voluntary support, were erected ; but their ministers lay under many disabilities, the chief of which was exclusion from taking any part in Church courts. It was a violation of the fundamental principle of the parity of the Presbyterian ministry ; and the Assembly was asked to place them on a

¹ Viz., the consent of heritors possessing at least three-fourths of the valued rent of the parish. Their selfishness hindered every attempt to extend the Church, as they preferred to appropriate to their own use the unexhausted teinds.—Buchanan, "Ten Years," &c., i. 269.

legitimate footing, with the full enjoyment of all privileges of the regular clergy. A committee was appointed to consider the best means of carrying the proposal into execution; and the Assembly was dissolved, to meet in the following year for one of its most memorable sessions.

The "Assembly Aisle" of S. Giles' Cathedral had been from time immemorial the meeting-place. In 1834 A.D., such was the increase in the attendance of members, they were obliged to adjourn to the more commodious Tron Church. On May 27 a resolution to enforce the veto was brought forward by Lord Moncrieff, in the absence of Chalmers; he was an eminent lawyer, and he set himself to prove that it was not inconsistent with the statute law; Mearns and Cook both replied, upholding the rights of the Presbytery, which the veto would take away. The motion was carried, after twelve hours' debate, by 184 to 138 votes, and became the interim law¹ of the Church.

No sooner was this subject disposed of than the case of the chapels was brought under consideration. The clergy who laboured under disabilities appeared at the bar of the Assembly and appealed for their removal; and they won their cause. The Chapel Act was passed; parishes *quoad sacra* were assigned, and the status of the ministers was equalised with that of the parochial clergy. It led to a vast extension of churches, and within four years, mainly owing to the energy of Chalmers, 187 new buildings were erected,

¹ By the Barriers Act it must be ratified by a majority of the Presbyteries before it became a standing law.

and no less than £200,000 added to the Church Fund.

The enfranchisement of the chapel ministers gave a strong impulse to the anti-patronage party in the Assembly, for they were chosen entirely by their congregations, and felt themselves pledged to further the principles by which they had been admitted to their cures.

While the Chapel Act worked successfully, the Veto Act had by no means a smooth and easy course.¹ Three months after it had passed, a vacancy occurred in the parish of Auchterarder, in Perthshire. The Earl of Kinconnell presented Mr. Young; the Presbytery in due course appointed him to preach, and subsequently invited the parishioners to subscribe his "call"; only two gave their names, but when an opportunity of dissenting was afforded, at once 287 out of 330 signed the veto. The presentee was a man of irreproachable character, but was much disliked as a preacher, and had a physical infirmity which some regarded as an insuperable objection. The Presbytery rejected the nomination, "a majority of the persons on the roll dissenting," and refused to "take him on trial." They were upheld in this action by the Synods of Perth and Stirling. After some delay the patron and presentee determined to carry the case before the civil courts. Most eminent counsel, including the Solicitor-General and the Dean of Faculty were engaged on

¹ In five years, out of 150 ministers nominated to vacant parishes, ten had been vetoed. The law made the patron exercise greater care in his selection, and as Chalmers said, it wrought "by pressure not by collision"; but not uniformly, as will be seen by the cases adduced in the text.

both sides, and a prolonged trial ¹ ensued. The judges were eight to five in favour of the plaintiffs, basing their verdict mainly on the Act of Queen Anne "for restoring patrons to their ancient rights."² An appeal was taken to the House of Lords, and in the May following they upheld the decision of the Court of Session, and ordered the Presbytery to take Mr. Young on trial "of life, literature, and doctrine," without any regard to the personal objections of the congregation.

The General Assembly met a few days after this decision was given; it was a most critical meeting, and every one felt how much depended on the issue of its deliberations. Cook, the leader of the Moderates, began the debate, proposing that the decision of the highest legal tribunal be accepted, and that no further interference with Mr. Young's presentation should be allowed. Chalmers, after challenging the legality of the Lords' decision, proposed the appointment of a committee to confer with the Government, and consider in what way the harmony between Church and State might remain unimpaired, while the principle of non-intrusion should be maintained. Muir, who had preached the sermon at the opening of the Assembly, and maintained that the duty of "trying the spirits"³ belonged not to the clergy but to the congregation, intervened with a series of resolutions intended to operate as a *via media* between the extreme sections.

¹ It lasted from November 21 to December 12, 1837, and the judges took two months to consider their verdict.

² Statute of 10 Anne, c. 12.

³ His text was taken from 1 John iv. 1.

Chalmers' motion was carried by a majority of 49.

The Auchterarder case was not the only one where the Church and State came into collision. At Lethenby, in Dunkeld, the Presbytery and the civil courts were engaged in prolonged conflict, and at Marnoch another dispute of a similar kind between the Presbytery of Strathbegie and the Courts of Law was fraught with such serious consequences that it ended in the disruption of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Edwards, the nominee of the patron, the Earl of Fife, was vetoed by an overwhelming majority of the parishioners. The Assembly in 1838 A.D. ordered the Presbytery to reject him, and they did so; but when the Court of Session was appealed to and upheld Mr. Edwards, a majority of them resolved to obey the court. The Assembly issued a restraint, and proceeded to suspend them for recognising the civil authority in a purely spiritual case. Candlish proposed that provision be made for supplying their places during the suspension, and Chalmers supported the motion with an impassioned appeal "to stay the Church of Scotland from falling in the wild delirium of conflict by the hands of her own children." It was carried by 121 votes to 14. The suspended ministers applied for an interdict against the intruders, and it was granted. The Presbytery took Mr. Edwards on trial in February, 1848 A.D., but proceeded no farther; he thereupon brought an action against them for damages, which were laid at £10,000. The court ordered that he should forthwith be admitted to the charge of the parish, and the Presbytery obeyed. The breach was

now complete; the Assembly had no course left but to turn suspension into deposition. The debate upon this final action was one of the most brilliant recorded in its annals. Chalmers, who proposed the motion, in alluding to the speeches of Cunningham and Robertson of Ellon, said that "such a display of intellectual gladiatorship had never been seen before." The sentence of deposition was passed by a majority of 97.

We have no space to trace in detail the immediate consequences: it brought the long-threatened Disruption within measurable distance. Effort after effort made to avert it completely failed; the Commission which Chalmers had proposed continued to urge upon the Government the imperative necessity of remedial legislation. Lord Aberdeen brought in a Bill of Relief, which was rejected, and the Duke of Argyll proposed to legalise the veto, but the overthrow of the Ministry thwarted his hopes. The General Assembly of 1842 A.D. made a final appeal for redress in a document known as the "Claim, Declaration, and Protest."¹ It claimed the supremacy of spiritual over civil jurisdiction; it declared that non-intrusion had been the heritage of the Church all through its history; and it protested that all Acts of Parliament limiting the Church's privileges, without her consent, were null and void. The Government refused to concede the demands: the "Popular" party were thwarted on every side. Both Houses of Parliament were against them; the Veto

¹ The full text is given in Appendix I. to Buchanan's "Ten Years," &c., pp. 633-647.

and the Chapel Acts had been declared illegal: nothing seemed to be left but secession; but the step was too tremendous to be taken without the formal united support of the party. A great Convocation was summoned to look the crisis in the face and decide. It met at Edinburgh on November 17, and it consisted of 465 ministers from every part of Scotland. Its proceedings opened with a service conducted by M'Donald of Ferrintosh, "the Apostle of the North," and a sermon by Chalmers on the appropriate text, "Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness."

After several days' debate they agreed to a series of resolutions, the most important of which was, if they failed to obtain redress from Government, "to tender the resignation of those civil advantages which they can no longer hold, in consistency with the free and full exercise of their spiritual functions, and to cast themselves on such provision as God in His providence may afford."¹ Three hundred and fifty-four ministers concurred in it. It goes without saying that the Government refused what the memorialists claimed; they even rejected a motion in the House of Commons for the appointment of a committee to take the matter into consideration.² Chalmers accepted it as a final answer, and began at once to prepare for the secession. Associations were formed in almost every part, to raise a "Sustentation Fund" for the maintenance of the disestablished clergy, and for building new churches.

¹ Buchanan, "Ten Years," &c., ii. 546.

² Mr. Maule's motion was lost by a majority of 135, 76 voting for, 211 against it.

A protest, to be read at the meeting of the Assembly, was drawn up and signed by 400 ministers.

The Assembly was appointed to meet on May 18, 1843 A.D., and every one awaited it with anxious expectation. The Queen's Commissioner was the Marquis of Bute ; he held his levee in the throne-room at Holyrood, and it was attended by unprecedented numbers. In the crush of presentation an ominous event occurred ; the portrait of William of Orange, the author of the "Revolution Settlement," suddenly fell from the wall in front of the Commissioner. As soon as the levee was over, the whole body moved in procession to St. Giles' Church, where Welsh, the Moderator, preached on the text, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." The sermon ended, they adjourned to St. Andrew's Church, which was filled from end to end and from floor to roof. After a few words of earnest prayer, the Moderator rose, and, amidst a silence that could be felt, declared the impossibility of constituting the court, for reasons embodied in the Protest, which he proceeded to read. The gist of it was contained in the assertion that the ministers and elders, whose names were subscribed, held it lawful "to separate in an orderly manner from the Establishment, and to withdraw to a separate place of meeting."

When he had finished reading, he laid it on the table, and then, bowing to the Queen's representative, he vacated the chair, and, followed by the leaders of the party of secession—Chalmers, Gordon, M'Farlane, M'Donald, Candlish, Cunningham, Campbell, and Dunlop—moved out of the building ; and rank after rank

of ministers and elders rose from their seats and joined in the exodus. Nearly half of the place of Assembly was left unoccupied. The streets were crowded; and as the procession made its way to a hall in Canon-mills, they were greeted on every side with acclamation and sympathy. The hall was filled with 3000 persons; Welsh offered an opening prayer, which thrilled the assembly, and then called upon them to place Chalmers in the Moderator's chair; "the one man," he said, "on whom the eyes of the whole Church and country, and the eyes of all Christendom were fixed." And those who witnessed the scene dwell upon a second occurrence of ominous import; for as the Moderator gave out the 43rd Psalm, and began the familiar verse, "O send out Thy light and Thy truth," the darkness of a threatened thunderstorm was dispelled by an outburst of sunshine. Many believed, in consequence, that "The Free Church of Scotland" entered on its course with manifest tokens of Divine favour.

CHAPTER XXX.

REFORMS CONNECTED WITH PRESBYTERIAN WORSHIP, TESTS AND PATRONAGES.

Consequences of the Disruption to the Free Church—The Sustentation Fund—Bitter animosity towards the Establishment—Immediate action taken by the General Assembly—Rapid increase of chapels—The reforms made by Dr. Lee in public worship—Old Greyfriars' Church burnt—The bareness of everything connected with Presbyterian services—His ideal taken from the "Directory"—The introduction of a printed form of service—Charges made against him—His defence—Forbidden to read prayers—Other changes allowed—His "Reform of the Church in Worship"—The opening of an organ—The Church Service Society—Proposed relaxation of tests for the eldership—Opposition provoked—Church Patronage—Repeal of the Act.

THE Free Church resolutely faced the consequences of separation from the Establishment. Her ministers, in signing the "Deed of Demission," stripped themselves bare; they sacrificed almost everything they possessed, churches, schools, endowments, stipends,¹ manses or parsonage-houses—in many cases the very means of subsistence; but they were strong in faith, they believed that they were being sent forth like the Apostles, "without purse or scrip," and that like them in the end they would "lack nothing." There is probably no case

¹ The yearly income they renounced was calculated at £100,000. Of 1203 ministers 451 seceded, of whom 289 were parish ministers, 162 chapel ministers. Of the laity it is calculated that about one-third joined the Secession.

in history where men were more thoroughly convinced of the righteousness of their cause: there is certainly none where the trusted possibilities of the future were more fully realised. At the first meeting of the Free Assembly, Chalmers announced that the "Sustentation Fund" had reached upwards of £200,000; and during the next five years the aggregate sum raised was more than £1,500,000, and within the same period 700 churches had been erected. Up to the present time the amount has been raised to £13,000,000, and there are upwards of 1000 churches, each with its appointed minister, and every one receiving an equal stipend. It must ever be regretted that such marvellous zeal and praiseworthy energy should have been grievously marred by an unworthy bitterness, and even spiteful animosity, towards the body from which they had parted. Nothing seemed too good to be said of the Secession, nothing too bad for the Establishment. The Free Church had gathered into its ranks "every man of genius, and talent, and learning; every man of piety and faith, fulness and energy, and zeal;" the Established Church was nothing: "the life had departed out of it; it was an empty grave." Her clergy were only fit for excommunication, "to be treated like heathens and publicans;" they were denounced as mere "hirelings and stipend-lifters" and time-serving "Erastians"; and her churches were to be shunned by all godly people as "impure and unholy places." In some parts, especially in the North, the bitterness proceeded to actual violence and persecution: the doors of the churches were broken in, the pulpits

defiled, and men lost their lives in the riots.¹ Traces of this animosity may be seen in almost every part, and there is no prospect of their being effaced, for the new community made it a point, wherever it was possible, to erect their rival places of worship in close proximity to the old churches. It is to the honour of those who were loaded with reproach and shamefully treated that they in no way retaliated.

The immediate future of the Establishment is perhaps the best answer to the accusations of its enemies. For a moment, it is true, it reeled beneath the shock of disruption, as well it might; but its equilibrium was speedily restored, and it set forth on its way with courage and resolution, and has maintained "a steady and continuous re-formation."

The first business of the General Assembly was to make good the Church's position in relationship to the State: the Veto Act was declared to have been illegally passed, and Presbyteries were ordered to proceed in the appointment of ministers as they had done before 1834 A.D.; so likewise with the Chapel Act: ministers of "parliamentary churches" and chapels of ease were declared ineligible for sitting in the courts of the Church. The deposition of the Strathbogie presbyters was pronounced invalid. So far for the present. For the future, they took steps to achieve, by a legitimate process, the reforms for which the Seceders were too impatient to wait. The sympathy of the Government was so far secured that the Scottish Benefices Act,²

¹ Cf. "S. Giles' Lectures," xi. 325.

² Lord Aberdeen's Bill. It granted the *liberum arbitrium*, which Sir James Graham had previously proposed.

granting to Presbyteries liberty to consider "the character and number of objectors to a presentee," was speedily passed through both Houses, and it was followed up the next year by Parliamentary sanction to the erection of new parishes.¹ Thus the principles of both the Veto and the Chapel Acts were established on a constitutional basis.

The tremendous difficulty of filling the vacancies made by the Secession in the ministry was met and surmounted; the Church extension which Chalmers had commenced was changed into the Endowment Scheme, and vigorously pushed forward by Robertson of Ellon; chapels built by voluntary subscriptions were endowed by the same means, and sixty new ones were erected before 1860 A.D. The number was increased to 250 in the next fifteen years, and in fifteen more it reached 350, the cost of building and endowing them having been no less than £3,000,000, including the largest individual offering for a distinctly religious purpose recorded in history, viz., £500,000 from Mr. James Baird of Cambusdoon.

These efforts largely increased the efficiency of the Established Church; but what contributed, perhaps more than anything else, to make it popular and increase its numbers and influence, was the much needed improvements that have been made in all that concerns its public worship. These owe their origin to the wisdom and resolute persistence of one man, Dr. Lee.

On January 19, 1845 A.D., the old Greyfriars

¹ Under Sir James Graham's Act.

Church was burnt to the ground, and Dr. Lee, who had been placed in charge at the great Disruption, when its former minister seceded in 1843 A.D., has told us of his feelings as he watched the conflagration. "Is this," he asked himself, "prophetic"? He had often chafed under the existing condition of Church worship, and felt the utter incongruity of all its associations with its high purpose; bare white-washed walls, slovenly and ill-ordered services, a long sermon, a still longer extempore prayer, and the inharmonious singing of the Psalter by ill-trained discordant voices—they were enough to blunt all reverential feeling and drive devotion from God's House. Dr. Lee resolved to dispel the chaos, and bring back to the service of the sanctuary something at least of the true beauty of Christian worship. His ideal was necessarily a very imperfect one, for he dared not, even if he had had the inclination, go back to the ancient models. The Puritan "Directory," which had been accepted by the Westminster divines, was his highest aspiration; it had been in abeyance for 150 years, but it was still the law of the Presbyterian Church, and was infinitely better than the ever-shifting forms, regulated only by the caprice of the minister, without a single element of stability or grandeur.

The opening of the rebuilt church was long delayed, but the delay gave him ample time to mature his reforms. He drew up a Service-book based on the Directory, and instructed his congregation to stand for praise and kneel to pray, and he read the prayers from a printed book. Such innovations could not be

suffered to pass unrebuked. He was accused of aping Episcopacy, of subverting the Established Church, and introducing strange novelties contrary to law and immemorial usage. Overtures were sent up to the General Assembly from different Synods, and Dr. Lee was summoned to the bar in February 1859 A.D., to make his defence. It was a masterpiece of historic proof and argument. Taking the charges one by one, he disproved them all. The Directory, which he had followed to the letter, had been imposed upon the Church both by civil and ecclesiastical authority, and it was still in force and the only legal standard of worship.

The usage upon which so much stress was laid was not a custom out of mind, but it had arisen "within the ken of human memory"; and even if it were older than it was, it was destitute of validity, because it violated a statute law which had never been repealed.

It had been brought against him as a grave offence that he had introduced a "Liturgy" into the Church; it awoke memories of Charles I. and Laud, and called for the severest censure. He took his accusers back to their great Reformer, and reminded them of Knox's Liturgy or Common Order, and convicted them at the same time of using "Aids to Devotion," which had as much a right to the title of Liturgy as the book that he had composed. He showed also that the postures adopted in praise and prayer were sanctioned by scriptural use and apostolic example. His arguments were most conclusive, but the means were found for evading for a time the only honest conclusion, till

at last he was again summoned before the Assembly on May 24. His defence on this latter occasion was described as "one of the finest addresses, logically, rhetorically, and historically considered, that ever won the sympathy or led captive the judgment of an ecclesiastical tribunal."¹

He was opposed by Professor Robertson, but supported by three eminent ministers—Drs. Bisset and Norman Macleod, and Principal Tulloch—and a substantial majority decided in his favour. Only in one particular was he condemned, viz., the reading of prayers from a printed book. The decision was hailed by many Presbyterian ministers, who longed for an improvement in their services, and not a few of the laity rejoiced in the liberty which had been won in fair and honourable conflict. It was not all, but it was a large instalment.

For a time he yielded to the decision of the Assembly and discontinued the habit of reading prayers from print; but after publishing "*The Reform of the Church in Worship*," he reverted to the condemned practice. The treatise is an able one; it deals with the subjects of prayer, liturgical and extempore, postures, the use of instrumental music, and the substitution of immemorial feasts and fasts in place of the Scottish fast-days.

In the following year he opened an organ, which had been subscribed for by his congregation; it was the first that had been used in Scotland since 1638 A.D., with the exception for a brief space of one in S. Andrew's, Glasgow. This was another step in advance, and

¹ Story's "*Life and Remains of Robert Lee*," i. 265.

its importance in the eyes of "the innovator" may be measured by the expressions of satisfaction with which he records the event: "I bless God that I have been able to accomplish this result."¹

Since then the Scottish Hymnal has been enthusiastically received; the Church Service Society has increased so rapidly that it numbers no less than 500 members; the Cathedral of S. Giles and that at Glasgow have been restored to "the beauty of holiness," and the whole order of Church worship among Presbyterians has been changed.

Dr. Lee was the proposer of another change; he had not the satisfaction of living to see it carried so far even as the first; but he was the pioneer of a more rational freedom of thought, as well as of a nobler worship in his Church. Many who opposed him both in the one and the other have lived to be grateful for what he did.

The office of eldership, a prominent feature in Presbyterianism, began in his day to lose its popularity; few of the intelligent laity sought admission to it, and the members of Kirk Sessions rapidly dwindled, or lost in influence through the introduction of inferior men. Dr. Lee discerned the cause; it lay in the obligation placed upon every lay-elder to accept the *whole* doctrine of the Westminster Confession.² Its Calvin-

¹ I have not thought it necessary to follow the course of events in connection with Dr. Lee. Suffice it to say that the Assembly withdrew from its principles of toleration, and, under the violent opposition of Dr. Pirie, his reforms were condemned again and again, and, worn out with anxiety and disappointment, he died, when the controversy had reached a most critical stage, in the spring of 1868 A.D.

² The declaration had been imposed by the Assembly in 1707 A.D.

ism was directly antagonistic to the growing recognition of the love of the Almighty, and men shrank from committing themselves to the awful declaration that predestination to everlasting death could ever have been decreed by Him "for the manifestation of His own glory."

Dr. Lee threw his energies into a measure of relief from this stringent test, and although he was supported by the most intelligent of his contemporaries, such as Dr. Macleod and Principal Tulloch, his utmost efforts to have the matter investigated by a Royal Commission completely failed. The question was re-opened by the Paisley elders; but a petition signed by several hundred names, called forth an outburst of violent opposition, in which the authority of the Confession was placed almost on a level with that of the Word of God, and the action of Dr. Phin, in defence of the ancient standards, kindled the widest enthusiasm. The matter has been again and again discussed in the Assembly, and if it remains as yet unsettled, there can be little doubt that the exigency of the times, which Dr. Lee foresaw, will admit of the same latitude of interpretation in the case of tests and confessions which is being allowed so largely in other churches.

One more change remains to be considered. The Church Benefices Act, after a trial of thirty years, was universally condemned. It worked well for a time, but at length the difficulty of proving the validity of objections to a presentee was found to involve both expense and delay, and it was used by lawyers as a

fruitful source of income.¹ The subject began to be agitated afresh in 1857 A.D., but it was not till 1869 A.D. that the Assembly could command a sufficient majority² to seek for the repeal of patronage as it had been settled by the Act of Queen Anne. Parliament was petitioned on the subject, and the Act was repealed,³ notwithstanding the determined opposition of the Free Church. Many in the Established Church looked forward to the abolition of patronage as a means for healing the wound which the Disruption had made, but they were doomed to disappointment. Instead of seconding the efforts of the National Church to remove the incubus, the men who had found it intolerable themselves would not lift a finger to take off the load from others; they even tightened the girths by which it was bound. It was ignoble conduct, and only intelligible on the principle which is receiving fresh illustration in Wales and England at the present time, "that Dissenters have a vested interest in the defects and abuses of the Established Church." It created, no doubt, a sense of bitterness to see other men obtaining, without sacrifice, a boon for which the Free Church had given up so much in 1843 A.D. It may palliate, it cannot justify their action.

¹ Cunningham says that sometimes the lawyer's bill amounted to as much as £500, and often the presentee had no means of paying it, and the debt incurred at the outset of his ministry was an overwhelming burden. "History," ii. 547.

² It was decided by a majority of 193 to 88 votes.

³ By the Duke of Richmond's Act, passed in 1874 A.D., which vested patronage in the hands of the congregation, leaving it to the Church to decide how it is to be exercised.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE SCOTTISH MISSION—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Bishop Hay's early life — His conversion to the Roman faith—His ordination and mission to Scotland—Consecrated Coadjutor Bishop —His work on miracles—Attempts to get the penal laws repealed — Disabling provisions—Opposition created by the agitation — Bishop Hay's perseverance—Riots in London—A Relief Bill carried—The state of the Roman community—Death of Cardinal Henry—Influx of Roman Catholics from Scotland—A third Vicar Apostolic appointed—The poverty of the Church—Catholic emancipation—Cardinal Manning's visit of inspection—Restoration of the hierarchy recommended — The Pope's jubilee—The scheme sanctioned—Titles of the ancient sees adopted—Conflict with the Scottish Church—Archbishop Eyre.

THE interest of "the Scottish Mission" after the middle of the eighteenth century is all concentrated upon the life and work of Bishop Hay. He emerged from obscurity at the battle of Prestonpans, 1745 A.D., when, as a medical student, he offered his services to aid the wounded Jacobites. He was captured in Edinburgh after the victory of the Royalists at Cul-loden, and for his known sympathy with Prince Charles was carried away as a prisoner. In London he was brought under the influence of an ardent Roman Catholic bookseller, who induced him to become a convert to his faith. On his release from captivity he returned to his native country, but found

himself incapacitated by the operation of the penal laws from following his profession. Accepting the office of navy surgeon to an outbound ship, he had the good fortune to meet among the passengers with Bishop Challoner, who inspired him with such a desire for theological knowledge, that he determined to go to study in Rome. After pursuing his studies for eight years, he was ordained priest in 1758 A.D., and sent to join "the Mission" in Banffshire, in Scotland, where he soon attracted attention by his preaching, and gained such a reputation for wisdom and judgment that he was consecrated after a few years Coadjutor to the Vicar Apostolic in the Lowlands, and took up his residence in Edinburgh. Shortly afterwards a violent persecution broke out against the Roman Catholics, and finding that in some parts there was no alternative offered them but starvation or renunciation of their religion, he took measures to facilitate emigration from the oppressed districts.¹

About this time much attention had been drawn in Scotland to the question of miracles, both by Hume's "Essay" and Campbell's "Dissertation," in which he went far to overthrow his opponent's celebrated argument.

Bishop Hay was not altogether satisfied with the Presbyterian reply, and entered into the lists on the Catholic side, arguing that not only were Scripture miracles, but ecclesiastical miracles also, both possible and of real occurrence. In 1776 A.D. he published his

¹ The part that suffered worst was South Uist, one of the Western Isles, where the chief laird was a violent Protestant, who insisted on enforcing the penal laws.

answer in two volumes, entitled "The Scripture Doctrine of Miracles." He also composed other treatises, of which the chief was "The Sincere Christian," like its predecessor on miracles, exhibiting the results of much study and learning, and gaining deservedly a very wide circulation.¹

His mind was soon turned from literary work, for which he possessed much aptitude, to a matter which filled him with anxiety and made the next few years of his life a most critical epoch in the history of his Church in Scotland. The persecuting spirit which he had been called to meet at Uist was apparently dying out, and it seemed to him a fitting time to agitate for a Relief Bill in Parliament² to make its recurrence an impossibility. A mere glance³ at a few provisions of the disabling legislation will show how great the oppression was. Not only was public worship, after the rules of the Roman ritual, forbidden, pain of death being incurred by taking part in any meeting "where there is altar, mass-book, vestments, Popish images, or other Popish trinkets," but even the possession of Roman books of devotion for private use was punishable with banishment and confiscation of goods. Parents were obliged to send their children from their own roof to be educated by Protestant teachers. No real property could be purchased, no testamentary bequests

¹ Another important literary work in which he took an active part was a new translation of the Bible from the LXX., Vulgate and Italic versions.

² Certain penal statutes against Roman Catholics in Ireland had been repealed in 1777, and against the same body in England in 1778.

³ A summary of the laws is given in Bellesheim's "History of the Catholic Church," &c., iv. 229-232.

enjoyed, without first renouncing the Roman communion ; no public office of any kind was tenable except on the same conditions. Such were some of the most stringent prohibitions, which made the profession of this particular form of religion an almost intolerable burden.

Bishop Hay had completely misread the temporary lull in persecution ; no sooner had it become known that measures of relief were contemplated, than the whole country seemed to rise as one man to resist any attempt at " Catholic emancipation." The General Assembly met to take steps to provide " for the safety of the republic " ; ¹ a general fast was proclaimed ; riots broke out ; Glasgow was a scene of uproar and confusion ; the houses of those who sympathised with Papists were destroyed. From Glasgow the disturbance spread to Edinburgh, and the Bishop's house was entirely wrecked by the fanatical mob ; and the executive government took no steps to stay the disorder.

Cunningham² has gathered together in a forcible manner all the elements of opposition : " The Established Church, the Secession Church, the Relief Church joined in the cry. Synods, presbyteries, kirk-sessions passed resolutions and despatched petitions against the obnoxious bill. Town-councils, guilds, corporations, clubs, societies joined hand-in-hand to keep the

¹ Opposition to the repeal was rejected mainly through the influence of Robertson, who was a great advocate for toleration, by a large majority, viz. 118 to 24 votes.

² History, ii. 386. He subjoins a note in which he substantiates this almost incredible account of the universal hostility, by referring to " Scotland's opposition to the Popish Bill," where the original petitions and resolutions are all printed.

Papists down. The remotest districts of the North caught the infection and joined in the clamour. The Incorporation of Cordiners in Potterrow, the Seven United Trades of Montrose, the porters in Edinburgh, the Berean Chapel, Carrubber's Close, the Society of S. Crispin, the Society of Journeymen Staymakers, the coal-hewers in and about Carntine, the Friendly Society of gardeners, butchers, sailors, flax-dressers, weavers, masons, all vied with each other in expressing their abhorrence of the proposed repeal. Seventy-nine ecclesiastical courts, two counties, forty-one burghs, twenty-four towns, eighty-four parishes, fifty-five corporations, and seventy-one private societies, recorded their hostility to the measure as fraught with ruin to the interests of the Protestant religion."

So far from being disconcerted, Bishop Hay made a personal visit to London, and appealed directly for the interference of the King, who referred the matter for the consideration of Parliament. Edmund Burke took up the cause of the oppressed, and made an impassioned appeal for justice; but all his eloquence was spent in vain. It only stirred the Presbyterians to realise the danger, and a monster petition, signed by more than 100,000 persons, was laid before the House with threatening demonstrations; and now London, instead of Glasgow and Edinburgh, was at the mercy of the mob. The bill was withdrawn by the Government, and all thought of legislating laid aside.

Fourteen or fifteen years were suffered to elapse before the question was re-opened; in 1793 A.D. a bill was brought in by the Lord Advocate and carried,

branches since the Reformation; Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Romans all alike have been crippled in their exertions through want of means; and the poverty is rendered all the more deplorable by its contrast with the past, when it was calculated that no less than half the property of Scotland was in the hands of the Church.

In 1829 A.D. the anti-papal agitation was renewed through the progress of legislation in favour of Catholic emancipation. In April a Relief Bill was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 178 votes, and in the Lords of 104, having been brought in respectively by Mr. Peel and the Duke of Wellington. It removed many disabilities, but still left certain offices closed against Roman Catholics: *e.g.* the Lord Chancellorship of England, the Lord Lieutenantcy of Ireland, and the Lord High Commissionership to the General Assembly of Scotland. Touching religious orders, it was enacted that Jesuits and members of any order coming into Great Britain after the Act passed should be guilty of a misdemeanour and liable to banishment. Nothing was said touching orders for women, and the first convent for nuns since the Reformation was established under the rule of S. Ursula in Edinburgh within a few years.

There is little to record for the next twenty or thirty years beyond a general sense of the relief afforded by the Emancipation Act and a marked extension of Roman Catholic agencies; but as the Church increased it was threatened by a serious disturbance, arising from a deficiency of Episcopal supervision and direction. The combination of the Irish element with the Scotch

and national jealousies added to the difficulties, and Cardinal Manning was commissioned to make a tour of inspection, and report upon the best method of establishing a more efficient ecclesiastical organisation. His conclusion was decisively expressed in the following terms : " There seems to me only one means of remedying the existing evils and guarding against them for the future—namely, the erection of dioceses in Scotland, and the introduction of a regular hierarchy."

Notwithstanding this emphatic decision, for some unexplained reason his advice was not accepted at headquarters. It is the more surprising, because the Roman hierarchy had been restored in England in the face of far greater obstacles ; but the Pope decided to wait. As a temporary measure he raised the dignity of the Western Vicar Apostolic,¹ and gave him largely increased authority.

A whole decade passed, and then the approach of the Pope's jubilee seemed to those who were interested in the matter a fitting opportunity for reviving the Cardinal's recommendations. A deputation of representatives from the leading Scottish families, headed by the Eastern Vicar, went to Rome to offer their congratulations at the Vatican, and they availed themselves of the interview for reminding the Pope of their unfulfilled aspirations, with an expressed conviction that the restoration of the hierarchy to their land would "give a fresh impulse to religion, and many would return to the faith of their fathers."

¹ His new title was Apostolic Delegate. The Western Vicar was selected because Glasgow had been the chief seat of the disturbances, the Irish element being very large in that city.

The result of the deputation was that the Pope referred the matter to the consideration of the Cardinals, whose decision, notwithstanding many and weighty objections raised by some of their body, was so favourable, that steps were taken to give it legal effect, and only stayed by the death of his Holiness. His successor, Leo XIII., at once took up the scheme, and on March 4, 1878, issued a decree for the foundation of the following Episcopal Sees—S. Andrews, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Galloway, and Argyle and the Isles. Difficulties arose in the selection of a metropolitan; Edinburgh, as the capital, was by far the most important city, but S. Andrews had all the historic traditions of the Primacy. It was decided to combine the two in one Archbishopric, and place the remaining Sees, with the exception of Glasgow, under its jurisdiction as suffragans. Glasgow, by reason of its ancient pre-eminence in the West, was also constituted an Archbishopric, but without any metropolitan authority. Such was the restored hierarchy of the Roman Church in Scotland.

It seems somewhat strange that, having regard to the instinctive aversion to the Papacy which Presbyterians from the time of John Knox have felt so acutely, they made no demonstration against this encroachment. The General Assembly issued no remonstrance, and the only demurrer put in was from the Scottish Episcopal bishops. The assumption of titles, of which they had held undisputed possession since the revival of Episcopacy, seemed an arrogant act, deliberately intended to bring them into contempt

not only in the eyes of Roman Catholics, but also of Presbyterians, and they issued an indignant protest. They claimed to be legitimate occupants of the ancient Sees of Scotland, repudiated the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, and maintained that, inasmuch as it was according to canonical rule and the order of the Catholic Church that there should be but one bishop in the same See, the intrusion of others into Sees already occupied was a violation of the law of unity, and a rending of the body of Christ.

It was all true ; but many have thought that the bishops would have consulted more for their dignity had they ignored the intended slight. No doubt they felt it more strongly because a different course had been followed in restoring the hierarchy in England, where a Roman bishop was in no case permitted to assume a title which clashed with that of an Anglican. It cannot be denied, however, that there is some distinction between the two. The Anglican bishops could claim unbroken possession of their Sees. Their bishoprics had never been interrupted ; their titles had never fallen into disuse. Crammer was as much Archbishop of Canterbury after as before the Reformation. In Scotland it was different ; the continuity had been broken, and Episcopacy deliberately abolished for many years. When it was restored by the Stuart kings the bishops naturally assumed the titles of the ancient Sees, but it would be difficult to prove that their claim was an indefeasible one ; but what influenced Rome probably in disregarding their right was the knowledge that Episcopacy in Scotland was not,

as in England, placed under the ægis of the legal protection of the State. We are not vindicating the action of the Pope, but trying to find out what may be urged in palliation of it. It deserves to be noticed that this arrogant assumption on the part of the chief ruler has not been in any way offensively endorsed in the conduct of his suffragans. When the first Archbishop of Glasgow died, this striking testimony was borne by the leading Scottish journal: "He has never obtruded that title in a society in which he knows it awakened very checkered memories, and was regarded as a somewhat illegitimate assumption. He has filled his place with courtesy to all; has done his duty in every public movement he could assist; has ruled his clergy faithfully and laboured assiduously for the temporal and spiritual good of his co-religionists. Throughout Scotland generally, the Romish clergy do their duty with devotion."¹

With this important testimony we leave them; it would have been manifestly unfair in writing the history of the Church in Scotland to ignore their labours. We could wish that they had purged themselves from obvious errors, but we cannot hesitate to give them credit for the good they have done.

¹ Quoted by Bellesheim, iv. 341, from the *Glasgow Herald*.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The Primacy of Bishop Gleig—The revision of Canons—The Gaelic Episcopal Society—Consecration of bishops—Death of Bishop Jolly—His character and learning—His bequest to the Church—Efforts to relieve the poverty of the Church—The Scottish Episcopal Society Fund—The objects of the Society—Effect of the penal laws on the clergy—The Archbishop's Relief Bill—Removal of misapprehensions on the validity of Scottish orders—Further legislation—Presbyterian opposition—Dr. Lee's fears—Visit of the Queen to Scotland—Outburst of indignation at her patronage of Episcopacy—The proposal to erect a college for training a Scottish priesthood—A storm of opposition—Trinity College, Glenalmond, founded—The celebration of its jubilee.

THERE is little of note to record in the Scottish Episcopal Church for the twenty years that followed the death of Bishop Skinner. It took little or no part in public matters political or civil, but went on steadily increasing in numbers and progressing in its work. Bishop Gleig of Brechin was appointed Primus in 1816 A.D.; the choice was one that reflected honour on the body, for he had a wide reputation. During his Primacy he held two Synods—one at Laurencekirk in 1828 A.D., and another at Edinburgh in 1829 A.D.—to complete the revision of the ecclesiastical Canons. In a charge which he subsequently published under the title of "The Constellation of the Scottish Epis-

within their reach for providing all that was required. At this time three-fourths of the landed proprietors of Scotland were Episcopalians;¹ and yet their bishops and clergy were left to struggle on, not only without means for supporting the dignity of their position, but in many cases with barely sufficient for their very existence. The Synod recognised the imperative necessity of doing something, and issued an urgent appeal for funds to carry out the work of the newly-formed society. Its objects were, firstly, to afford aid to congregations struggling with pecuniary difficulties; secondly, to assist candidates for holy orders in their theological studies; thirdly, to provide schoolmasters with books and tracts for the poor; and fourthly, to form or enlarge diocesan libraries. All the objects were to receive consideration, but by no means to an equal extent, and it was especially stated that the primary purpose of the fund must be "to provide incumbents with such an income as may be sufficient for their support." It reveals a deplorable condition of poverty that when the committee came to distribute the first year's subscriptions, they were only able to raise the incomes of thirty-two incumbents to £80, many being still left with £40, and a few with a merely nominal sum. Under the second head they granted £55 to the Pantouian professor to disburse among needy students for their travelling expenses

¹ "The Peerage of Scotland in 1842 consisted of 8 Dukes, 4 Marquises, 42 Earls, 6 Viscounts, and 23 Barons—in all, 84 members, including one Baroness, yet of these noblemen probably not above twelve are Presbyterians. Only two are Roman Catholics, and one of them has no property in Scotland." Lawson's "History," p. 432.

to Edinburgh ; under the third, they distributed in the North, where the poverty was most severe, Bibles, Prayer-books, and other books, both English and Gaelic ; and it is particularly noted that they were helped in doing this by a grant from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The committee were unable to make any allotment of funds to the fourth object.

The penal laws of 1792 A.D. had imposed one disability upon the clergy of the Episcopal Church, which had proved especially galling ; a priest who had received Scottish ordination was absolutely prohibited from officiating in England. The prohibition could not fail to create in men's minds the idea that there was some inherent flaw in Scottish orders, or at all events a distinct inferiority of some kind. In 1840 A.D. a strong representation to this effect was made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, seeing the injustice of the imputation, he dwelt upon this aspect of the case in proposing his Relief Bill, quoting a statement from the Register of the Episcopal College : "The proposed modification would remove a ground of misapprehension from which disadvantageous inferences are drawn. From their not being allowed to officiate in England, it is concluded by the great body of their countrymen that there must be a defect in their clerical authority ; that their orders are not valid ; that they are not clergy in the proper sense."

The Bill passed both Houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent on July 23, 1840 A.D. It did not grant all that was looked for, but it gave permission for a Scotch clergyman, under the hand

of an English or Irish bishop, to officiate for any one or two Sundays in an English Church. It removed the supposed stigma, and was thankfully welcomed on this ground by the clergy, but they had to wait nearly a quarter of a century before they were placed on a perfect equality with their brethren in England and Ireland.

In 1864 A.D. the Duke of Buccleuch introduced a Bill for the complete removal of clerical disabilities, enabling a priest in Scottish orders not only to officiate under Episcopal leave, but to hold a benefice in England. It was regarded as a union of the Scottish Episcopal and the English Churches, and as such was jealously regarded by Presbyterians. It aimed, it was said, at conferring privileges on an independent body, which boasted over the Church established by law of its Divine right and inherent superiority. The General Assembly was pressed to endeavour to stay legislation, but wisely decided that it did not concern them. Individuals, however, took a different view, and Dr. Lee especially, departing from his characteristic spirit of toleration, expressed a marked disapprobation. The real ground of his aversion was doubtless the fear that such an Act would interfere seriously with his cherished reforms in Presbyterian worship. The Episcopal Church was already a dangerous attraction to the enlightened laity by its more ornate services ; if anything should be done to improve its condition still further, it would inevitably draw off those upon whose help he relied to carry out his reforms. Events proved that he had exaggerated the danger, and we have seen

that although some of his followers fell away, yet his improvements were not stayed.

About the time that the Presbyterians were thrown into commotion by the prospect of the clerical disabilities being removed, two other events contributed to increase their anxieties. The first was a visit of the Queen and Prince Albert to Scotland in 1842 A.D. Just twenty years had elapsed since George IV. had set foot in his northern kingdom. On that occasion the Scottish bishops had presented to His Majesty a loyal address of congratulation, and their action excited much hostility on the part of the Presbyterians, who attributed to them ulterior motives and accused them of cherishing ambitious designs for the re-establishment of Episcopacy.

History repeated itself on the present occasion ; the members of the Episcopal College joined in the demonstrations of loyalty, and were assailed with the same unmerited abuse and misrepresentation. It was aggravated by the attendance of the Queen at an Episcopal service. Wishing to spend her first Sunday in privacy, she had no hesitation in taking part in the usual form of worship provided by her host, the Duke of Buccleuch, in his chapel at Dalkeith. It was in no sense an official act, but it gave the greatest offence, and for a time embittered very seriously the relationship of Presbyterians and Episcopalians.

The other event which gave serious umbrage was the foundation of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity at Glenalmond. The Episcopal Church had long laboured under a disadvantage from having

no means of adequate training for its ministry. Two laymen who took a deep interest in its welfare, Mr. James Hope and Mr. W. E. Gladstone, devised a remedy for the evil, and drew up a scheme in 1840 A.D. for the establishment of an Episcopal College, "in which a secular education should be given, but the chief object should be the education of a Scotch priesthood." As soon as it was matured they laid it before the bishops of the Scottish Church, but "startled by its very magnificence," they treated it at first as Utopian. After a year's reflection, however, they agreed to give it a preliminary sanction, and take steps for ascertaining the mind of the laity. Satisfied with the result of their inquiries they issued a pastoral formally approving of the scheme, and commending it to the prayers and alms of the faithful, and signing their names as "Bishops of the Reformed Catholic Church of Scotland." The issue of their proposals was met with a storm of opposition, in which Presbyterians did their utmost to stop its further progress, misrepresenting the motives of the promoters, and assailing them with even virulent abuse. A minister of Perth spoke for five hours on a motion in the Presbytery to interpose, making a violent attack upon the Oxford Tractarianism, Apostolical Succession, and "the preposterous claims of the Scottish Episcopal Church."

The Universities took up arms against it on the ground that it would diminish their incomes by drawing off a number of their students. The only public body that gave the scheme the least support was the Town Council of Perth, influenced, however, it would

seem, mainly by motives of self-interest, for they promised a sum of £500 on condition that the College was built in the immediate neighbourhood of the city.

The enthusiasm of the originators spread rapidly over the Episcopalian community, and the success of the scheme was almost immediately assured. The opposition of the Presbyterians gradually died down; the deadly conflict of parties in their own ranks was approaching a crisis; "they had their hands on each other's throats, and they had no time to bestow on the aggressions of Puseyism, when their own structure was reeling to its foundation."

One of the most romantic spots in Scotland, on the banks of the Almond, not far from Perth, was selected for the site of the College; the first stone was laid in 1844 A.D., and three years later it was opened, with the late Bishop of S. Andrews, Dr. Wordsworth, for its first Warden.

The foundation has had a chequered history. It may be questioned whether it has fulfilled all the expectations which its promoters hoped for, but the fact that no less a sum than £100,000 has been spent upon the building is a striking witness to the zeal and energy of the body it represents. Those who were present at the celebration of its jubilee in October 1891 A.D. and witnessed the vast gathering of sympathetic friends from every class, must have been inspired with gratitude for the burial of old jealousies, and have taken courage for the future of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE UNION OF EPISCOPALIANS AND PRESBYTERIANS.

Discussions on union after the passing of the Duke of Buccleuch's Bill—Views of Episcopacy taken by Dean Ramsay and Dr. Rorison—Letters in the *Scotsman*—Correspondence with Dr. Lee—Prolonged efforts for union made by the Bishop of S. Andrews—His defence of Episcopal orders—The supposed wrong inflicted on the nation by the bishops at the Revolution of 1688—William forced to impose Presbyterianism—Presbyterian opinions in favour of union—Dr. Bisset—Principal Tulloch—Professor Milligan—Bishop Wordsworth's proposed terms—The Lambeth Conference—The Catholic Church uniform in its maintenance of the essential character of the Episcopacy—The need for patience.

IT is not purposed to enter here into the theological question of Episcopal and Presbyterian orders; but inasmuch as the proposals for the union of the two bodies have filled a considerable page of history during the last quarter of a century, it seems fitting to append to what we have written a *résumé* of what has been done.

The question of union began to be seriously mooted shortly after the outburst of jealousy had subsided on the passing of the Duke of Buccleuch's Bill in 1864 A.D. There was at this time an important section of Episcopalians of the moderate school, who were represented by such men as Dean Ramsay and Dr. Rorison of Peterhead. The former, in a reply

to an unjust attack made upon him by Dr. Lee in "The Reform of the Church," had expressed his views upon the crucial question of Church Government by saying that he did not regard Episcopacy to be essential to the *esse* of the Church, but to the *bene esse*; the latter asserted the same in other words in a series of letters in the *Scotsman*, in the autumn of 1864 A.D., in which he propounded terms of union for the two Churches. Their relative position he set forth as follows: "The Established Church is strong—strong in her legal status, in her rights of self-government, in her full representation of the laity in Church courts, in her invaluable parochial system, in her million or more of the Scottish people. But she is weak in her want of liturgical worship, of ancient tradition, of Church orders, of effective and permanent presidency in her Synod; weak in the estrangement of the upper classes, and weak, above all, in necessary separation from the Church of England.

"Now the Episcopal Church (from perfectly historical causes) is numerically weak. Her congregations, compared to those of the Establishment, are but as one to seven; her worshippers but as one to twenty. She may be weak in other respects, which her adversaries are keen-eyed to descry. But in some things she is strong. She is strong in her spiritual independence, and is not likely to part with it. She is strong in her newly acquired trust of the laity, and gradual concession to them of their due share in Church government. She is strong in her respect for ancient order, in her constitutional Episcopate, and in her noble

liturgy. She is strong in the affection of the upper ranks and the hereditary allegiance of the Scottish aristocracy. Lastly, she is now strong, far stronger than ever, by the blessing of Providence on the Duke of Buccleuch's effort to recover the confiscated rights of her clergy, and thus to perfect her ecclesiastical relations with the sister Church of England.

"These strengths, separated, are, speaking in the large interests of national religion, in a great measure reduced to weakness. These weaknesses by union would be transfigured into strength."

Shortly after the appearance of these letters, which attracted much attention, Dr. Rorison entered into correspondence with Dr. Lee; and the latter, in reply, expressed his belief in the hopelessness of the task by emphasising the difficulty in connection with orders. Episcopacy, he said, had created it, and Episcopacy must remove it. But he added, at the close of his letter, that he should not despair of the scheme, if he were satisfied that any considerable number of Scotchmen were in sympathy with the object. Dr. Rorison replied that he regarded the restoration of the chief pastorate as consistent with a full recognition of Presbyterian ordination, and assured his correspondent, on the second point, that the Southern clergy were generally in favour of union, perhaps half of the Northern, five or six of the bishops, and nineteen-twentieths of the laity. Lord Rollo took a leading part in the scheme, and a meeting for discussion was arranged, Dr. Lee drawing up some "bases of adjustment" for polity, worship, and standards of belief. The

preparations, however, were made in vain, for a change in the current of opinion¹ unexpectedly set in, and the promoters of union lost hope and abandoned the scheme.

Another and more sustained effort has been made by the late Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of S. Andrews ; and though the desired object is still unattained, there can be no question that his labours and influence so far succeeded that the separated bodies have learnt to think and speak far more charitably of each other. His appeals for union, which have appeared in a great variety of forms,² during a long Episcopate, place the matter on a very different basis from that of the fore-named "moderate" Episcopalians. In the former case, the promoters of union made a very large concession in denying that Episcopacy was essential, though it might be highly desirable. In the latter case, it would be difficult to place Episcopacy upon a surer foundation than that which is claimed for it by Bishop Wordsworth in his "Dissertation on the Christian Ministry." He has argued both strongly and successfully against the primitive authority for Presbyterian ordination, showing that Episcopacy has had an unbroken recognition from Apostolic times.³ Neverthe-

¹ In Dr. Lee's Life (ii. 132) this is strangely attributed in no little measure to the action of the Bishop of London, who resided in Scotland for a time, and, it is said, gave great offence by slighting the "National" Church, and identifying himself with the Episcopal body.

² For reference we note: "Public Appeals on Behalf of Christian Unity," "Ecclesiastical Union between England and Scotland," "The Lambeth Conference and Church Reunion," "Union or Separation." The subject is also dealt with in his charges for 1863-4-6-7, 1882-5. Published by Macniven & Wallace, Edinburgh.

³ This seems to be a fitting place to vindicate the late Bishop Light-

less, he maintains that concessions may be made under exceptional circumstances. The Established Church of Scotland, he holds, must be looked at by itself; "it cannot be disposed of by arguments which merely affect Presbyterianism in the abstract." The Scottish bishops made, in his view, a tremendous mistake in 1688 A.D. by not throwing in their lot with William of Orange, as the bulk of the English bishops did. They told William to his face, through their delegate, Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, that they would serve him "so far as law, reason, and conscience shall allow"; by which they meant that they would "not make him

foot from the use that has been made of his name, especially in Scotland, in support of "The Presbytery." A dignitary of the English Church, speaking before the Assembly, went so far as to congratulate the Scottish Presbyterians upon having retained the original form of government, and he appealed to the most learned Anglican Bishop's essay on "The Christian Ministry" in support of what he said. A few quotations from the Bishop's writings will show how unfairly he has been used: In his preface to the 6th edition of the "Commentary," in which the Essay is inserted, he writes, "The object of the Essay was an investigation into the origin of the Christian Ministry. The result has been a confirmation of the statement of the English Ordinal, 'It is evident unto all men, diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church—bishops, priests, and deacons.'" In his latest work he set forth what he claimed to have proved in the Essay, "It is there shown, if I mistake not, that though 'the New Testament itself contains, as yet, no direct and indisputable notices of a localised Episcopate in the Gentile churches, as distinguished from the movable Episcopate exercised by Timothy in Ephesus, and by Titus in Crete, yet there is satisfactory evidence of its development in the late years of the Apostles' age.'"—"Apostolic Fathers," part II. vol. I. pp. 376-37. At the Wolverhampton Congress he said, "Is the Anglican community to be blamed because she retained a form of church government which had been handed down in unbroken continuity from the Apostolic times?"—"Congress Report," p. 12. In one pregnant sentence he characterised Episcopacy as "the historic backbone of the Church."—"Dissertations on the Apostolic Age," p. 241.

their king or give their suffrage for his being king." The result of their conduct was that he had no alternative but to take the Presbyterians by the hand; he wished to favour the Episcopal Church, but he was literally forced by the Scottish bishops to impose upon the nation the Presbyterian religion. As some atonement, the Bishop holds, for the wrong thus inflicted, the Church is morally bound to assist in recovering for the nation the blessings of which she was thus forcibly deprived.

The Bishop gathered together the utterances of some leading Presbyterians, whom, as having been chosen Moderators of the Assembly, he considered legitimate exponents of the Presbyterian mind.

Dr. Bisset, in his address as Moderator, said, "There is a loud call on us all to coalesce and combine for the good of our Church and country."

Principal Tulloch, in reference to union, said, "'Let the dead bury their dead.' It is time to forget old conflicts, which all wise members have abandoned."

Professor Milligan, in speaking of the Bishop's scheme wrote thus: "That there are difficulties in the way of this it is impossible not to see; but it may be doubted if, great as they are, they are greater than those that beset the path of those who are striving to accomplish the smaller unions.¹ I am not sure that they are not less, and that the prospect of gathering again together the powerful landlords, who are for the most part Episcopal, into one flock with their dependents, to-

¹ He refers to unions of the different bodies into which the Presbyterian Church is split up, of which much has been written in the preceding pages.

gether with the many lettered and cultivated among the inhabitants of our towns, who have of late years been feeling the attractions of the Episcopal constitution and service, would not awaken even a larger amount of sympathy and enthusiasm in its favour than that of uniting Presbyterians alone."

It is, however, difficult to believe that Presbyterians would accept the proffered terms, which are these: "Episcopal ordination (that is, ordination of presbyters by a bishop, with presbyters assisting) is to be the rule universally observed in the future, leaving it to the option of the existing generation of ministers to receive it or not, or to receive it *hypothetically*, as they may think best. This could do injury to no one. Those who prefer strictly Episcopal ministrations would still attend them; and in the next generation the schism would be healed." ¹

It is even more difficult to believe that the Catholic Episcopal Church could ever assent to them, and this was unquestionably the opinion held by the assembled bishops at the Lambeth Conference in 1888 A.D.

Without denying that the establishment of Presbyterianism at the Revolution Settlement was indirectly the result of the action of the bishops, it must be allowed on all hands that they acted in the full belief that by so doing they were upholding a Divine right. They certainly did no conscious wrong to the Church

¹ "Ecclesiastical Union between England and Scotland," p. 38. The Bishop claims that the Church may refuse to acknowledge the validity of Presbyterian Ordination as a general rule; she is, nevertheless, competent to suspend the law of Episcopal Ordination for a purpose of supreme importance, such as the promotion of union.

or nation. The same could not be said of the Episcopal Bench to-day, whatever individual bishops might feel, if they were to admit into corporate union a ministry whose orders had been conferred without that ordaining authority which the whole Catholic Church holds to be essential.

No wrong, however grievous, can ever be set permanently right by another wrong. Better a thousand times to wait, labouring and praying for union, never losing sight of it as an ideal to be most devoutly wished for, but taking no premature or hasty step, if there is even a possibility of its imperilling the Church's constitution or making it one degree weaker when the union has been effected. At present, notwithstanding individual expressions of brotherly kindness and good-will on both sides, which men are so apt to interpret in the light of what they wish, there can be no real doubt that union involves something which the Presbyterian Church *will* not, and the Episcopal Church *cannot* surrender. God may be overruling the division, leaving a work for each to do apart. Let us at least hope that it is so, and labour on in our respective spheres with mutual esteem and charity, and when that work is done, in His good time He will draw us together.

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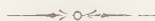
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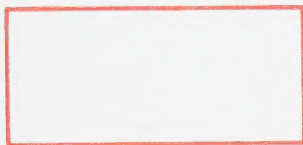
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